

NATIONAL AID IN THE ESTABLISH- MENT AND TEMPORARY SUPPORT OF COMMON SCHOOLS.

THE EDUCATION BILL, BY HENRY W. BLAIR.

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FORTY-FOUR TABLES COMPILED FROM CENSUS OF 1880 AND RETURNS OF NATIONAL BUREAU OF EDUCATION, AND FROM OTHER AUTHENTIC SOURCES, SHOWING THE ILLITERACY OF THE UNITED STATES AND THE NECESSITY OF NATIONAL AID TO COMMON SCHOOLS.

These tables cannot be duplicated, and are the best historical authority for all time. They are of inestimable and permanent value, for no Educational Statistics of the Census of 1880, except to a limited extent in the Compendium, were or now can be published.

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SPEECH OF MR. BLAIR IN THE SENATE, MARCH 2, 1887, ON EDUCATION AND LABOR. INDUSTRIAL COMPETITION BETWEEN THE NORTH AND SOUTH—NATIONAL AID TO EDUCATION ALONE CAN PROTECT BOTH LABOR AND CAPITAL, ESPECIALLY IN THE NORTH, p. 50.

INTRODUCTION.

The Education bill was introduced in the Senate of the United States December 6, 1884. As originally prepared by me it provided for the distribution of \$105,000,000 in ten years by annual installments. As passed by the Senate, April 7, 1884, by a vote of 33 yeas to 11 nays, \$77,000,000 were to be distributed in eight years, and as passed by the Senate, March 5, 1886, by a vote of 36 yeas to 11 nays, the same amount in the same time, with a school-house fund of \$2,000,000.

The bill and like measures have been very ably supported in the House of Representatives by Hon. A. S. Willis, General Wheeler, and many of their party friends, and the Republican members generally; but, although there was a large majority of the House in favor of the bill in both the Forty-eighth and the Forty-ninth Congresses, its opponents have so far been able to defeat the consideration of this important measure upon its merits.

Public interest in the bill is increasing, and the necessity of its enactment is not diminishing.

Judge Bynum, a leading jurist of North Carolina, last year candidate of the Republican party for chief justice of the State, in a letter to me dated June 20, 1887, urging continued effort to pass the school bill, says: "The South is poorer now than fifteen years ago, or since—I mean the masses;" and this is, I fear, too near the truth outside the centers of transportation and mining and manufacturing industry, and even in them it is not clear that the *masses* are much improving their condition. Education alone gives the individual power which, combined with industry, enables its possessor to secure a larger share of the wealth produced by the community.

Mrs. Annie C. Peyton, a lady of high character and great distinction, in reply to my inquiries writes me from Hazelhurst, Miss., under date of June 15, 1887:

"The failure of the Forty-ninth Congress to pass the Blair education bill was a national calamity. To ascertain the continued need of the relief proposed in the bill I have addressed letters of inquiry to county superintendents of education in various portions of the State, and all agree that some measure of national aid is a necessity."

The Woman's National Christian Temperance Union, the great teachers' associations, the Knights of Labor, the Federation of Labor, for this is the most important "labor bill" now before the country, religious denominations, and educational organizations such as the trustees of the Peabody Fund, the Johns Hopkins University, the Union League, superintendents of public instruction, and many States in formal action through their legislatures and innumerable petitioners from all parts of the country, to which should be added the national platform of the Republican party, are urgent, and will continue to be, for the passage of this bill. It is the unmistakable voice of the people demanding their own good—the creator requiring of its creature, the law-making power, the enactment of this measure into law.

The measure will be vigorously pressed in both houses upon the assembling of the Fiftyeth Congress, and it will continue to disturb the Congress until the great evil which demands its beneficent provisions is removed. It will be found impossible to evade the issue presented by this bill much longer, nor will misrepresentations of the measure itself or of the condition of popular education, or, rather, of the want of its many parts of the country, suffice much longer to mislead the public mind and thwart the public will.

The debates in the Senate, occupying about three weeks on each occasion, have been very elaborate, able, and exhaustive, sometimes heated, but on the whole the most thorough and complete and the most elevated in tone that have transpired upon any public question for many years.

I have prepared this little volume chiefly from the material those debates, partly because the further gratuitous supply of the immense demand heretofore and now existing upon my time and pains for information on this absorbing theme has become impossible, and partly that the invaluable statistics contained in the reports of the Senate Committee on Education and Labor and in my speeches are and always will be otherwise inaccessible to the general public.

There have been no educational or religious statistics of the tenth census published by Congress, except to a limited extent in the compendium, and a reliable compilation is, as I am informed by the Bureau, now impossible. These tables were prepared, many of them at my request and under my supervision, with special reference to the elucidation of this subject, by the Hon. John Eaton, so long Commissioner of Education. But the larger portion are his own work, and are based upon such returns of the census of 1880 as were then available and the data collected by the extensive and reliable machinery of the Bureau of Education. These tables must become more and more important as time goes on. They will be the only standard of comparison with future educational statistics, and their special adaptation to what seemed to me to be the most intelligible and impressive presentation of the appalling ignorance of many portions of the country will, I hope, assist others in like investigations which must continue so long as the American people care to be free.

Those tables represent an indescribable amount of my personal work and weariness, and I may overestimate their importance; but however that may be, whoever gets them may be sure that he has the best attainable and that the educational condition of no people was ever so well delineated statistically as is that of our own in the following pages.

Strange as it may appear, this little work contains more than four hundred pages of an ordinary octavo book. It is published in quarto form, because in no other way can the tables be used with convenience. I earnestly commend its contents to every citizen of the Republic, for these things concern our peace.

HENRY W. BLAIR.

WASHINGTON, D. C., June 24, 1887.

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PRESIDENTS WASHINGTON, GRANT, AND GARFIELD.

George Washington—First annual message to Congress.

"Nor am I less persuaded that you will agree with me that there is nothing which can better deserve your patronage than the promotion of science and literature. Knowledge in every country is the surest basis of public happiness. In one in which the measures of government receive their impressions so immediately from the sense of the community as in ours it is proportionably essential."

Farewell address.

"Promote, then, as a matter of primary importance institutions for the general diffusion of knowledge."

President Grant—Message on ratification of 15th amendment, March 30, 1870.

"I would therefore call upon Congress to take all the means within their constitutional powers to *promote* and encourage popular education throughout the country, and upon the people everywhere to see to it that all who possess and exercise political rights *shall have the opportunity* to acquire the knowledge which will make their share in the Government a blessing and not a danger.

"By such means only can the benefits contemplated by this amendment to the Constitution be secured."

President Garfield's inaugural address.

"But the danger which arises from ignorance in the voter can not be denied. It covers a field far wider than that of negro suffrage and the present condition of the race. It is a danger that lurks and hides in the sources and fountains of power in every State. We have no standard by which to measure the disaster that may be brought upon us by ignorance and vice in the citizens when joined to corruption and fraud in the suffrage.

"The voters of the Union who make and unmake constitutions, and upon whose will hang the destinies of our governments, can transmit their supreme authority to no successors save the coming generation of voters, who are the sole heirs of sovereign power. If that generation comes to its inheritance blinded by ignorance and corrupted by vice, the fall of the Republic will be certain and remediless.

"The census has already sounded the alarm in the appalling figures which mark how dangerously high the tide of illiteracy has risen among our voters and their children.

"To the South this question is of supreme importance. But the responsibility for the existence of slavery did not rest upon the South alone. The nation itself is responsible for the extension of the suffrage, and is under special obligations to aid in removing the illiteracy which it has added to the voting population. For the North and South alike there is but one remedy. All the constitutional power of the nation and of the States and all the volunteer forces of the people should be surrendered to meet this danger by the savory influence of universal education."

THE VIEWS OF 28 SENATORS OF THE UNITED STATES AS EXPRESSED IN DEBATE ON THE EDUCATION BILL.

Senator Edmunds, Vermont.

"We come, then, to the question as to what we ought to do. We do find, and all agree as a fact, that in a great many of the States of this Union there is an undue and excessive proportion of people who are ignorant and of children who are ignorant, and that in those States it appears to be a fact that at this present time there are not sufficient resources available to provide from the taxable property of the inhabitants of those States for this emergency. It is therefore, as it seems to me, a case in which the common treasure of all the people may be fairly devoted in aid of this great and necessary object for the preservation of real republican government."

Senator Evarts, New York.

"Now, then, in a word, Mr. President, I confront this immense, this dangerous, this growing, this threatening mass of ignorance. I find a deliberate, a concerted, a thoughtful, a valuable measure. I am heartily in favor of the passage of this bill."

Senator Sherman, Ohio.

"I think the safety of the National Government demands that we should remove this dark cloud of ignorance that rests upon a portion of the people of the States.

"Without reproaches to any section I am willing as one of the Senators of Ohio, * * * to vote from the national treasury a large sum of money this year and from time to time, so long as the necessity exists, a liberal sum of money to aid in the education of the illiterate children of the Southern and Northern States."

Senator Lamar (now Secretary of the Interior), Mississippi.

"I have watched it with deep interest and intense solicitude. In my opinion it is the first step and the most important step this Government has ever taken in the direction of the solution of what is called the race problem; and I believe it will tell more powerfully and decisively upon the future destinies of the colored race than any measure or ordinance that has yet been adopted in reference to

it—more decisively than either the thirteenth, fourteenth, or fifteenth amendments, unless it is to be considered, as I do consider it, the logical sequence and the practical continuance of those amendments. I think that this measure is fraught with almost unspeakable benefits to the entire population of the South, white and black. It will excite a new interest among our people; it will stimulate both State and local communities to more energetic exertions and greater sacrifices, because it will encourage them in their hopes in grappling and struggling with a task before whose vast proportions they have stood appalled in the consciousness of the inadequacy of their own resources to meet it."

Senator Garland, Arkansas (now Attorney-General).

"This bill might very aptly be styled a bill to extirpate illiteracy in the United States. For one I do not require any amendment to the old Constitution to enable me to find the power of Congress to do this. * * * In conclusion, I implore both sides, and all sides, to come together and vote for this bill, and let a unit upon it, as we have been talking about it and promising it for years and years past."

Senator Voorhees, Indiana.

"No discussion in this body since the war has been of greater importance, in my judgment, or will be more fruitful or far reaching in beneficial results than the one now drawing to a close. The measure itself now before the Senate has never been surpassed in the elevation and benevolence of its spirit nor in the magnitude and value of its immediate and ultimate purposes."

Senator Hoar, Massachusetts.

"I profess to be the friend of this bill. I undertake to say that the legislature of this nation has a right to save the life of this nation against whatever danger. I think it is a better thing to try the experiment whether by educating a black man he can be made fit for American citizenship than without trying that experiment to cheat him out of his vote."

Senator Pugh, Alabama.

"I do not believe that any measure approaching this in importance has been before the Senate or is likely to be before the Senate this session with as much popular approval of its passage. My service on the Committee on Education and Labor for five months during the last summer and fall enabled me to learn something of the public necessity. Every witness examined by the committee upon the condition and needs of the public schools in the Southern States urged Federal aid to these States to enable them to extend the benefits of a common-school education to their illiterate children."

Senator Vance, North Carolina.

"I feel that it is my duty to vote for this bill, and I shall do so."

Senator Brown, Georgia.

"As without education the voter, without giving him the knowledge which General Washington speaks of as indispensable, * * he cannot be a citizen, at least a useful citizen. He cannot be a voter—a safe, intelligent voter. * * I am, therefore, very clearly of the opinion that there is no constitutional difficulty in the way of the passage of this bill."

Senator Jonas, Louisiana.

"I accept this bill in behalf of the people whom I in part represent as a great benefaction, as a great assistance to a people overburdened by a charge laid upon them which they are unable to meet, but which they have every disposition to carry out to the best of their ability."

Senator Cullom, Illinois.

"There is no enemy of the Republic who does not make the public-school system of this country the point of his attack, either open or insidious, as the case may be; and there is no friend of the Republic who should not do all that may be in his power to defend and strengthen it."

Senator George, Mississippi.

"Mr. President, I feel very deeply and very profoundly the gravity and importance of the measure now before the Senate. I know of no measure likely to engage the attention of Congress which has so much of benefit to the people whom I, in part, represent on this floor and also to the people of the United States."

Senator Williams, Kentucky.

"Mr. President, this is a proposition so manifestly humane and just that it is difficult for me to see how any one can withhold his support from it."

Senator Gibson, Louisiana.

"In my opinion reflecting men in all parts of the country * * * have formed the deliberate judgment that the education of the people, the enlightenment of the suffrage, the elevation of the popular character and the popular conscience, the awakening of a loftier and healthier sentiment of national patriotism, is absolutely indispensable to the preservation of constitutional liberty."

Senator Ransom, North Carolina.

"I will presume to say that I do not think it possible that any member of the Senate can be more anxious for the passage of this bill than I am."

Senator Hampton, South Carolina.

"Actuated by these motives I feel bound as a citizen, as a Senator, as a patriot, to support the bill under consideration."

Senator Logan, Illinois.

"I have been in favor of education ever since I have been old enough to make the matter a study. I have always been in favor of common schools and schools of a high grade, and I am to-day."

Senator Call, Florida.

"Mr. President, the measure is far above all ideas having their origin in partisan bitterness and sectional prejudice. I undertake to say, Mr. President, that you cannot appropriate too much money in this country to education."

Senator Jones, Florida.

"I think there is ample authority in the Constitution for the passage of this bill."

Senator Teller, Colorado.

"Long ago, on this floor and elsewhere, I have committed myself unequivocally, unhesitatingly, unrestrictedly to the power of the General Government to contribute out of its great abundance to the support of public schools anywhere within its jurisdiction."

Senator Jackson, Tennessee.

"Mr. President, this measure may fail, but I esteem it a great personal privilege, as well as a high patriotic duty, to give it my humble but cordial support."

Senator Mahone, Virginia.

"Mr. President, I could not be more earnestly in favor of the measure which this bill proposes to inaugurate than I have been and am."

Senator Riddleberger, Virginia.

"I am not ashamed to say here, on behalf of as good a people as inhabit the State of Texas or of Kansas, that we do want it; we ask for it; and we think that it is due to us to have it."

Senator Dolph, Oregon.

"A large amount of illiteracy in any Government is a menace to it. The remedy for such an evil is to educate."

Senator Miller, New York.

"I am willing to vote enough of the public money to make such a beginning in this matter that the Southern States shall be so lifted out of their darkness and illiteracy that when this \$77,000,000 shall have been distributed such a public spirit will have been created in the South that from that time on they will be able to go on with their common-school system perfected, and carry it to complete perfection, as we have done at the North."

Senator Harrison, Indiana.

"Holding these views, Mr. President, I am sincerely solicitous that Federal aid should be extended to the States in such a way that the kindly impulses of that increasing body of Southern men who show a kindly disposition toward the elevation of the colored man shall be recognized and encouraged."

Senator Blair, New Hampshire.

"I also embrace this fitting opportunity to say that I fully believe that the States will everywhere disburse the moneys received under this bill if it becomes a law in good faith and with as sacred regard to the demands of prudence and honor in one section of the country as in the other. For a year or two there may be some possible confusion in setting up and testing machinery, but in the existing condition of the public mind the better way is to give outright to the States and hold them, as they desire to be held, to an undivided responsibility, to be redeemed upon their honor. We shall not trust to that honor in vain. Mr. President, the absolute necessities of this nation and of these States, of their darkened present and of their portentous future, demand the appropriation of public money from a full treasury to aid in the establishment and support of common schools throughout the country. Sir, I appeal to the facts and entreat the Senate to pass this bill."

NATIONAL AID TO COMMON SCHOOLS.

SPEECH
OF
HON. HENRY W. BLAIR,
OF NEW HAMPSHIRE,

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES,

Tuesday, February 9, 1886,

On the bill (S. 194) to aid in the establishment and temporary support of common schools.

Mr. BLAIR. Mr. President, this bill as originally introduced at this session and referred to the Committee on Education and Labor was the same in form as the bill passed by the Senate in the Forty-eighth Congress with the exception of the thirteenth section proposed to be stricken out by the amendment of the committee. It is a section providing a school-house fund of \$2,000,000. That section was moved during the discussion in the last Congress in the form of an amendment to the bill by the Senator from Illinois [Mr. LOGAN], but by a close vote it was lost in the Senate. As the bill was introduced at this session that amend-

ment was incorporated as the thirteenth section; but in the consultations of the committee it was deemed better to report back the bill as it had received the sanction of the Senate by a three-fourths vote in the last Congress without alteration, and therefore the committee report it back recommending that the thirteenth section be stricken out, and submit it in that form to the judgment of the Senate.

In this immediate connection I wish to introduce a table which has been prepared showing the population of the whole country, of each State and Territory, except the District of Columbia, and how the whole amount proposed to be appropriated by this bill, \$77,000,000, during the next eight years is to be distributed during that period. This table shows the whole amount distributed in that time to each State and Territory that receives anything under the provisions of the bill, and the amount received by the whole country in each State and Territory during each year of the entire period covered by the bill: \$7,000,000 to the whole country the first year, \$10,000,000 in the second year, \$15,000,000 in the third year, \$13,000,000 in the fourth year, \$11,000,000 in the fifth year, \$9,000,000 in the sixth year, \$7,000,000 in the seventh year, and \$5,000,000 in the eighth, and the amount proposed to be distributed to each State and Territory during each of these years successively under the provisions of the bill. I wish the table to appear as a part of my remarks.

Preliminary computation of amounts to be received by the States and Territories, excluding the District of Columbia, of \$77,000,000 distributed on the basis of the number of persons who could not write in 1880, as per Senate bill 194.

[Prepared by the Bureau of Education, January, 1886, at the request of Hon. H. W. BLAIR.]

States and Territories.	Total population, census of 1880.	Persons who could not write in 1880.	Quota of each State and Territory for the—								
			Whole time.	First year.	Second year.	Third year.	Fourth year.	Fifth year.	Sixth year.	Seventh year.	Eighth year.
			Dollars.	Dollars.	Dollars.	Dollars.	Dollars.	Dollars.	Dollars.	Dollars.	Dollars.
United States.....	50,155,783	6,214,180	77,000,000	7,000,000	10,000,000	15,000,000	13,000,000	11,000,000	9,000,000	7,000,000	5,000,000
Alabama.....	1,262,505	433,447	5,370,848 45	488,258 95	697,512 78	1,016,269 14	906,706 59	767,204 07	627,761 49	438,258 95	348,756 39
Arizona Territory.....	40,440	5,842	72,388 30	6,580 75	9,401 08	14,101 61	12,221 40	10,341 19	8,460 96	6,580 75	4,700 54
Arkansas.....	802,525	202,015	2,503,170 97	227,561 00	325,037 14	487,630 72	422,613 29	337,956 86	292,578 43	227,561 00	162,543 57
California.....	864,624	55,430	602,031 35	60,180 54	85,980 77	128,971 25	111,775 00	94,578 83	77,382 69	60,180 54	42,990 39
Colorado.....	194,327	10,474	129,783 50	11,798 50	16,853 00	23,822 48	21,911 45	18,540 50	15,169 49	11,798 50	8,427 50
Connecticut.....	622,700	28,424	352,202 22	32,018 38	45,710 55	68,610 83	59,462 72	50,314 61	41,166 49	32,018 38	22,870 28
Dakota Territory.....	135,177	4,321	59,737 09	5,340 64	7,758 06	11,637 09	10,085 48	8,533 87	6,982 25	5,340 64	3,879 03
Delaware.....	146,008	19,414	240,550 17	21,809 02	31,241 45	46,862 08	40,613 89	34,305 60	28,117 31	21,809 02	15,630 73
Florida.....	260,493	80,183	993,948 79	90,322 62	129,032 81	193,548 46	167,742 00	141,933 54	116,139 08	90,322 62	64,516 16
Georgia.....	1,542,180	520,416	6,448,482 66	586,225 70	837,465 28	1,236,197 92	1,088,704 87	921,211 81	758,178 05	586,225 70	418,732 64
Idaho Territory.....	32,610	1,778	2,031 23	2,002 84	2,801 50	4,292 24	3,719 64	3,147 32	2,575 44	2,002 84	1,490 60
Illinois.....	3,077,871	145,357	1,801,616 46	163,783 31	235,076 16	350,964 21	304,109 04	257,373 01	210,578 54	163,783 31	118,988 08
Indiana.....	1,978,301	110,761	1,372,441 26	124,737 39	178,239 12	267,358 68	231,701 86	196,063 04	160,418 21	124,737 39	89,119 56
Iowa.....	1,624,615	46,609	577,532 84	52,502 99	73,004 27	112,506 39	97,505 54	82,504 69	67,503 84	52,502 99	37,502 14
Kansas.....	996,066	39,476	489,147 72	44,407 97	65,525 08	95,288 51	82,583 38	69,578 23	57,173 10	44,407 97	31,702 84
Kentucky.....	1,645,080	248,302	4,315,030 63	392,418 24	569,640 54	840,960 45	728,832 36	616,704 38	504,576 30	392,418 24	280,339 16
Louisiana.....	939,466	313,380	3,945,051 48	358,641 04	512,344 35	758,516 52	666,047 66	565,758 79	461,166 91	358,641 04	256,172 17
Maine.....	648,936	22,170	274,708 81	24,975 53	35,676 47	53,514 79	46,379 41	39,244 12	32,108 82	24,975 53	17,838 24
Maryland.....	934,943	134,488	1,666,442 88	151,494 81	216,421 15	324,641 73	281,357 50	238,663 27	194,779 01	151,494 81	108,210 59
Massachusetts.....	1,788,085	92,980	1,132,116 61	104,737 87	149,025 54	214,438 31	184,513 20	164,588 69	134,652 89	104,737 87	74,812 77
Michigan.....	1,636,497	65,728	788,932 67	71,741 15	102,544 39	156,746 75	133,307 86	112,799 96	92,290 65	71,741 15	51,372 25
Minnesota.....	780,783	34,546	428,060 62	39,914 55	55,502 21	83,838 31	72,269 87	61,151 43	50,032 90	39,914 55	27,796 10
Mississippi.....	1,131,597	373,201	4,624,339 33	420,394 68	600,565 55	890,845 43	780,732 72	660,619 91	540,567 19	420,394 68	300,281 78
Missouri.....	2,108,380	208,754	2,586,674 63	235,152 18	353,921 65	509,897 30	436,711 49	369,524 85	302,338 51	235,152 18	167,965 85
Montana Territory.....	19,439	21	151 46	1,422 82	2,146 95	4,120 40	3,571 02	3,021 64	2,472 23	1,922 82	1,433 47
Nebraska.....	452,401	11,258	142,848 63	12,985 78	18,551 12	27,826 66	24,116 46	20,245 78	16,696 00	12,985 78	9,275 56
Nevada.....	62,266	4,069	50,419 04	4,583 55	6,547 93	9,821 88	8,512 39	7,202 72	5,849 13	4,583 55	3,272 96
New Hampshire.....	346,901	14,302	177,216 30	16,110 57	23,015 11	34,322 10	29,819 74	25,516 62	20,730 59	16,110 57	11,937 55
New Jersey.....	1,131,116	46,896	689,936 18	59,882 65	85,980 65	128,334 30	111,336 86	94,238 46	77,120 55	59,882 65	42,844 73
New Mexico.....	119,565	57,156	700,220 88	64,383 72	91,976 78	137,965 09	119,569 75	100,174 81	82,779 06	64,383 72	45,988 37
New York.....	5,082,871	219,600	2,731,066 98	247,369 78	353,383 82	530,077 98	459,410 92	385,713 36	318,046 79	247,369 78	176,692 66
North Carolina.....	1,396,750	48,975	5,749,121 37	522,647 41	746,639 14	1,110,558 70	970,603 88	821,303 06	671,975 93	522,647 41	373,319 61
Ohio.....	3,198,062	131,847	1,635,718 21	148,319 84	215,171 21	317,917 88	275,822 53	238,988 32	190,384 07	148,319 84	106,650 63
Oregon.....	174,768	7,423	91,978 52	8,361 68	11,945 26	17,917 88	15,528 84	13,189 79	10,750 75	8,361 68	5,973 63
Pennsylvania.....	4,232,891	228,014	2,825,324 98	256,847 72	366,925 82	530,587 98	477,002 92	403,617 86	330,232 78	256,847 72	183,402 66
Rhode Island.....	345,931	21,733	307,210 44	27,925 22	39,837 46	59,543 19	51,887 21	43,945 13	35,907 71	27,925 22	19,948 73
South Carolina.....	895,577	399,848	4,689,792 28	416,617 48	599,167 82	873,751 83	773,718 27	654,681 61	535,651 04	416,617 48	297,585 91
Tennessee.....	1,542,359	410,722	5,089,262 62	462,660 24	660,943 20	991,414 78	859,226 15	727,337 52	594,848 87	462,660 24	330,471 60
Texas.....	1,991,749	916,432	3,929,913 78	356,416 78	509,209 58	763,814 36	661,972 45	560,130 94	458,288 62	356,416 78	254,604 71
Utah Territory.....	145,969	8,826	109,563 19	9,949 10	14,303 40	21,314 50	18,463 89	15,623 39	12,782 70	9,949 10	7,101 50
Vermont.....	132,284	15,837	106,236 51	17,839 68	25,485 26	38,227 89	33,150 84	28,023 79	22,935 72	17,839 68	12,742 63
Virginia.....	1,512,555	50,332	5,332,498 25	484,772 57	692,532 24	1,068,793 35	900,291 91	761,785 47	623,279 91	484,772 57	346,266 12
Washington Territory.....	75,116	3,889	48,188 66	4,380 79	6,298 27	9,387 40	8,135 75	6,884 10	4,332 44	4,380 79	3,129 13
West Virginia.....	616,457	85,399	1,067,965 39	96,172 30	137,339 60	206,083 51	178,605 71	153,650 10	126,172 30	96,172 30	68,699 50
Wisconsin.....	1,315,497	55,558	688,420 03	62,953 64	89,405 20	134,107 64	116,226 61	98,545 58	80,464 67	62,953 64	44,702 60
Wyoming.....	20,769	556	6,889 40	626 31	894 73	1,132 08	1,143 14	984 20	805 25	626 31	447 86

During the decade from 1870 to 1880 the population of the entire country increased about 31 per cent.—from 38,000,000 in round numbers to 50,000,000 and over. Assuming that the population in this country has continued to increase in the same ratio, and that it will continue so to increase until the next census is taken in 1890, the population of the country would then be 65,704,050. Assuming, too, that from 1880 until the present time the same ratio of increase has prevailed, the population on the 1st of next July would be over 59,000,000 and nearly 60,000,000 of souls. In round numbers, 60,000,000 may be stated as the present population of the United States.

The amount of money raised and expended for purposes of education in the country has, during the last six years, somewhat increased; but from the best statistical information that can be obtained, through the reports of superintendents of education and in other ways, the expenditures for common-school education in the country have not increased in any larger proportion than has the population of the country. If the southern portion of the country were selected as an illustration of this proposition, it would be found that the expenditure, which in 1880 was \$12,475,044, had increased in 1882 to \$14,325,288, an increase during those two years of \$1,850,244. The total expenditure in the year 1884 was \$16,655,755, and the increase from 1882 to 1884 was \$2,330,467. The total expenditure throughout the United States has increased in just about the same proportion according to the best information that I am able to obtain. I think that the actual expenditure throughout the country for common schools the last year was just about \$35,000,000. Of course the great mass of this expenditure is in the Northern States, as in fact the capacity to demand taxation for that purpose is mainly in the North. It is not the fact that the taxation of the latter section of the country is any larger than, and in many localities is not as large for school purposes as, in the Southern States to which allusion was first made; and in this connection I will ask to have inserted as part of my remarks a table showing expenditures each year from 1880 to 1884, inclusive, for the public schools of the Southern States, together with the addenda or memoranda at the bottom of the table:

Expenditure each year from 1880 to 1884, inclusive, for the public schools of the Southern States.

States.	1880.	1881.	1882.	1883.	1884.	Total.
Alabama.....	\$375,465	\$410,690	\$403,602	\$448,498	\$522,727	\$2,160,982
Arkansas.....	298,656	388,412	508,957	479,471	591,745	2,177,541
Delaware.....	207,281	227,291	179,668	179,668	215,161	989,059
Florida.....	114,895	683,532	133,260	133,260	172,178	637,125
Georgia.....	471,029	498,533	584,174	613,647	653,868	2,821,251
Kentucky.....	893,490	1,218,324	676,004	676,004	474,700	4,188,670
Louisiana.....	489,230	411,481	411,481	385,428	466,930	2,215,656
Maryland.....	1,544,267	1,604,560	1,051,908	1,003,211	1,686,640	8,090,706
Mississippi.....	830,704	757,758	690,610	803,876	693,876	3,876,851
Missouri.....	3,152,178	3,498,729	3,753,224	3,797,049	4,288,165	18,429,325
North Carolina.....	352,882	409,650	509,736	623,441	535,205	2,430,923
South Carolina.....	324,029	315,634	339,831	423,473	428,419	1,911,980
Tennessee.....	724,802	638,009	827,154	918,363	955,470	4,064,358
Texas.....	763,346	673,366	808,350	1,190,322	1,661,476	5,122,320
Virginia.....	946,109	1,100,239	1,157,142	1,297,629	1,321,537	5,822,647
West Virginia.....	716,864	761,250	879,820	947,371	997,431	4,302,736
District of Columbia.....	338,567	327,312	379,312	609,091	559,697	2,774,579
Total.....	12,475,044	13,644,982	14,213,741	15,145,699	16,531,285	72,010,751

a For the previous year, no report for this year having been received.

b Thirteen counties not reporting.

c For white schools only; estimating the expenditure for colored schools on the basis of the same per capita expenditure for white and colored children of legal school age, the total expenditure for the year 1882 is \$346,025, and for 1883 \$325,200.

INCREASE.

If the above total expenditure for 1882 be augmented by the estimated expenditure for colored schools in Kentucky, as explained above, the increase of expenditure for all the public schools in the Southern States named for the year 1882 over that of 1880 is..... \$1,850,244

If the expenditure for 1884 be augmented in like manner the increase of expenditure for the public schools in the States named above for the year 1884 over that for 1882 is..... 2,330,467

Total expenditure for 1882..... \$14,325,288
Total expenditure for 1880..... 12,475,044

Increase..... 1,850,244

Total expenditure for 1884..... \$16,655,755
Total expenditure for 1882..... 14,325,288

Increase..... 2,330,467

* Includes an estimate for the colored schools of Kentucky not included in totals of table.

I will also introduce now a table showing the amount of money which was paid out to or deposited with the several States, known as the surplus fund, under the act of 1853, which table shows the entire amount to have been \$23,104,461.91 deposited with the States of the Union as the Union was then constituted:

Money distributed among the States under the act of June 23, 1856.

Maine.....	\$695,838 25	Vermont.....	\$699,086 79
New Hampshire.....	603,986 79	Connecticut.....	764,670 60
Massachusetts.....	1,333,173 58	Rhode Island.....	832,335 30

New York.....	\$4,014,520 71	Mississippi.....	\$382,335 30
New Jersey.....	764,670 60	Tennessee.....	1,433,757 39
Pennsylvania.....	2,867,514 78	Kentucky.....	1,433,757 39
Delaware.....	289,751 49	Ohio.....	2,007,260 34
Maryland.....	953,838 25	Missouri.....	332,331 30
Virginia.....	2,198,427 99	Indiana.....	800,254 44
North Carolina.....	1,433,757 39	Illinois.....	477,919 14
South Carolina.....	1,051,422 69	Michigan.....	286,751 49
Georgia.....	1,051,422 69	Arkansas.....	286,751 49
Alabama.....	689,086 79		
Louisiana.....	477,919 14		23,104,641 91

This table is pertinent to this discussion because the amounts of money given to several of the States were appropriated to the common schools and became the basis of common-school funds, notably in the State of New York; and in others, I understand, it was expended in the course of time for the benefit of schools.

I desire also in this connection as a part of my remarks to introduce the report of the committee which is very largely matter of statistical calculation, which will be, I think, of great service in the investigation of the subject, and I will also make a part of my remarks on this occasion what I said to the Senate in opening the debate on this bill in the last Congress, which is an aggregation of a large mass of matter gathered from the census, tabulated matter collected from all parts of the country through the Bureau of Education, and many tables prepared by myself for the preparation of which was dictated and directed by myself, and tables prepared by other gentlemen of the Senate and House which illustrate the subject and which when printed will put the Senate in possession of a great mass of statistical knowledge bearing on this subject so far as it is to be found in the archives of the Government or as the result of the researches of individuals.

I desire also in this connection to have the bill printed as it passed the Senate in 1884; and also the bill as introduced in the Forty-seventh Congress. I do this in order that the Senate may have possession of all the information that I seek to present on this subject when it proceeds to a more minute consideration of the bill.

I may in this connection say that the bill as passed by the Senate during the last Congress was the result of a great deal of deliberation and a great deal of concession to conflicting views of Senators from all portions of the country and representing the two great parties of the country. It was the result of three weeks of earnest debate and as it finally passed it commanded the approval of three-fourths of the Senators voting, while of those who were absent a large portion were also in favor of the bill. It is not precisely such a bill as I would myself prefer in all particulars; very likely it is not precisely the bill that any individual in the Senate would prefer should become the law if a law is to be enacted on this subject; but I believe that it would be hardly possible that another month of deliberation would result in the enactment of a bill which on the whole would be more useful to the country or more generally satisfactory to those whose deliberations must be concentrated upon it than the bill as it then passed and as it is now reported to the Senate. Personally I should be very glad indeed to see the amendment which the committee reports rejected and the thirteenth section become a part of the law if the bill is to become a law.

I think it is exceedingly important when school-houses are to be erected in the sparsely settled districts of our country where it is very largely the truth that there is no school-house, that there is no model of a school-house whatever, that under the provisions of that section there should be erected a school-house which should have all the proportions and all the qualities that appertain to a school-house constructed according to the latest scientific, sanitary, and other improvements so that it become a model in accordance with which erection should afterward be made all over that district, finally perhaps all over this country, and thus we should come in the end, and that very soon, to have the whole country supplied with school-houses which should be models of their kind. But, as I said before, the committee thought on the whole it would be better to report to the Senate the bill as it passed, after so long a discussion, after so mature a deliberation by so large a majority during the Forty-eighth Congress.

The report of the Committee on Education and Labor is as follows:

Report to accompany bill S. 194.

The Committee on Education and Labor, to whom was referred Senate bill 194, entitled "A bill to aid in the establishment and temporary support of common schools," have considered the same, and report the same favorably to the Senate, and recommend its passage with the following amendment:

"Strike out the thirteenth section of the bill.
The bill as thus amended is the same as that passed by the Senate during the Forty-eighth Congress, on the 7th day of April, 1884, on a vote of 33 yeas to 11 nays, but which failed to be considered in the House of Representatives.
Since that time the measure has been generally and thoroughly discussed throughout the whole country, and probably public sentiment is more largely in favor of this bill than was ever known to be the case with any other of like importance in the history of American legislation.

The committee believe that under these circumstances it would be useless to consume the time of the Senate with any elaboration of the law and facts involved, and adopt the report of the Committee on Education and Labor of the Forty-eighth Congress, which, although made in support of the bill before it was modified by the slight reduction in the amount of money appropriated by shortening the period of appropriation from ten to eight years, and in some other minor particulars, before its passage, was substantially the same as the bill finally passed by the Senate, and which is herewith reported favorably by your committee with the earnest recommendation that it do pass. It should be observed that early action by the Senate is important, that the measure, if adopted, may be submitted to the House of Representatives sensibly, in order that there may be opportunity for the children of the country to reap the benefits of this

proposed legislation during the ensuing year. It is difficult to realize the wrong inflicted by withholding from a child the opportunity for common-school education during a single one of the few years in which he must make his scanty preparation for the battle of life.

The report reads, and is hereby adopted by your committee, is as follows: [Senate Report 101, part 2, Forty-eighth Congress, first session.]

MR. BLAINE, from the Committee on Education and Labor, submitted the following supplemental report, to accompany bill S. 398:

The Committee on Education and Labor, to whom was referred Senate bill 398, entitled "A bill to aid in the establishment and temporary support of common schools," having read and heard the many views tendered by the members in its passage, without discussion of the subject, in view of its great importance and the difficulty of collecting statistics and data for the consideration of the Senate, ask leave to make the following supplementary report:

The committee unanimously approve the amendment proposed to be appropriated in the bill and its distribution on the basis of illiteracy, and a majority recommend its passage in its present form.

The matter following is largely from a presentation of the subject made by the chairman of the committee on a former occasion, for which, as matter of argument, the committee as a whole is not responsible, but the statistical tables and calculations having been prepared with considerable labor and care, and being substantially unchanged by later information, the same are incorporated with this supplementary report.

We propose to inquire into the nature and extent of the powers and obligations of the National Government to assist in the education of the people when necessary, for its aid and their own preservation; to develop and illustrate the actual condition of public education in this country as it now stands; to ascertain from other reliable sources, and thereby to demonstrate the necessity of national aid to common schools at the present time; to explain the several measures pending in Congress having that end in view, and to briefly give reasons for supporting the bill now before us in our belief best calculated to secure the object desired by the advocates of all.

The United States are conceded by all to be a unit and a sovereignty within the scope of the powers expressly granted or necessarily implied in the written constitution. The question between them and those who have held the national idea on the one hand and that of State sovereignty on the other has been as to which had the right to decide upon their relative jurisdictions and to establish their political boundaries when in dispute. Upon this question we do not now propose to enter. It is not necessary to the maintenance of the argument on this occasion. Our leading proposition is that the General Government possesses the power and has imposed upon itself the duty of educating the people of the United States whenever for any cause those people are deficient in that degree of education which is necessary to the maintenance of the Union, whether either of the United States or of the several States wherein they chance to reside.

This does not imply that a like power and even more imperative duty do not require the people of every State to educate its own citizens. It is a power not hostile but friendly to the power of the State. For is it a power not necessarily, it should be exercised only in extremity, and when manifestly essential to the local, and therefore ultimately to the general, welfare. As the State may not engage in war unless "actually invaded, or in such imminent danger as will admit of delay," so the United States should not enter upon the duty of qualifying the citizen to bear his responsibilities to the nation and to the State until the local power is shown to be inadequate or negligent and the necessity is apparent and imperative. But the power is there.

There is no truth better established, nor more generally admitted than that the republican form of government can not exist unless the people are competent to govern themselves. The contrary doctrine would be an absurdity, a contradiction of terms. What is the republican form of government but government by the people by the people? But how can the people govern, how exercise sovereignty, except they have the knowledge requisite to that end? Sovereignty requires as much intelligence when exercised by the people as a whole as when exercised by a single individual; it requires more. The monarch governs according to his will, not necessarily with that broad intelligence which demands public good. Government for the people by the people implies that degree of popular intelligence which will enable the masses of men to comprehend the principles and to direct the administration of government in such way as to promote the general public welfare. The republic, therefore, requires a higher degree of intelligence on the part of the sovereign than any other form. That sovereign is the whole body of the people. How, then, can the republican form of government exist and continue to exist unless from generation to generation, in person to person, the highest degree of intelligence is maintained?

But the question is deeper still. How can civilization exist without education? What is civilization but the result of education—of the development and training of the powers of the individual? All human progress and happiness are in the higher and broader sense, but education, which confers the capacity both to do and to enjoy. If, then, to educate is to civilize, the great duty which society owes to the individual is to educate him, and the benefit thus conferred he is bound to return.

This primary duty of society to its individual membership is by the law of nature imposed, in the first instance, upon the parent. But the parent can not fully discharge it. What then? Society, through the established forms of government, interferes and performs what the parent fails to perform. Is this any violation of the rights of the parent? No one can deny that the individual when, of that which, for the good of the child, the parent, and the whole social fabric, must be done. The right of the mass, that is, of the state, is paramount even to that of the individual, inasmuch as the general welfare—the safety of the people—is the supreme law. The right to proper education of the child shall remain intact. He has no right to breed firebrands and death to the society of which he is a part and to which he owes everything himself. Here is the foundation of the right of compulsory education on the part of the state.

If the parent neglects his duty, the state may step in and provide where there would be no occasion for the interference of the state; but he fails to do it. Benevolent voluntary effort comes to his aid. This also fails. What then? The law of self-preservation at once asserts itself in behalf of the state as well as of the individual, and for the sake of both it takes the broad issue of these principles as fundamental, and are so plain that their assertion may seem superfluous. But we now come to an important question in the argument.

What in our complex system of government constitutes the "state," the organization in which the people have the right to properly educate the people when the parent and voluntary agencies fail? The term "state" has various significations, but as used in this connection it is thus defined by Mr. Webster and by the writers upon law: "A political body or body-politic; the body of people united under one government, whatever may be the form of the government."

MR. BOUVIER says: "In its most enlarged sense it signifies a self-sufficient body of persons united together in one community for the defense of their rights and to do right and justice to foreign nations. The state may be defined as the people, whether one body-politic, and the state and the people of the state are equivalent expressions."

There can be no doubt that under our system the word "State" includes the people, the territory, both the United States and of the several States of that union the former is composed. The territory which constitutes the one includes the many. The citizens of the many are individually and identically the citizens of the nation at large. Every citizen of the United States who resides in a State

is a citizen thereof. "All persons born or naturalized in the United States and subject to the jurisdiction thereof are citizens of the United States and of the State wherein they reside." The rights and powers of the great community of citizens constitute the citizenship of the United States and of the several States are vested in the Government of the United States, in the governments of the several States, or in the people themselves. Although these three depositories of rights and powers are "distinct like the billows," yet they are "one like the sea" in their several jurisdictions, yet they constitute one great whole, and act together harmoniously for the individual and common good, each independent of the other in its sphere, like the independent yet concurring powers of nature in the realms of physical life, where—

All are but parts of one stupendous whole,
Whose body's nature is, and God the soul.

It is only as we use the word "state" in this complete sense that the people of the United States and the people of the several States and of the Territories, constitute "a body of persons united together in one community for the defense of their rights, and to do right and justice to foreigners."

Now, the right of self-defense, which is the right of self-preservation, is the right to live and to be. The right of the people to be at all times, and includes the right to constitute and maintain the state—that is to say, government—and to prescribe its form, for human existence is impossible without government. The governing power must know how to govern or it can not govern. Can it do that which he knows not how to do? The people have distributed the functions of government between the national and the sectional or the State authorities, and have retained in themselves the initial exercise of all power through the ballot. The ballot is the republican form of government in the nation and in the State.

Intelligence is necessary in the individual, who is the sovereign in the one as well as the other. The right and duty of the national portion of the Government to preserve itself, and of the individual to preserve it and to exert his sovereignty through its forms perpetuated, are absolutely identical, and both are of the whole to preserve the whole, and the right and duty of the whole to preserve the whole implies the preservation of all the parts by that whole, to the existence of which all the parts are necessary. It is not necessary that a man should be able to live, and the people to live. He needs no license stamped or sealed to give him the right to breathe.

His creation implied all that. Just so the people, when they created governments both of State and nation, republican in form, and bade them multiply their blessings and enlighten the earth with their civilizing and ennobling activities, necessarily gave them the breath of life and the inherent power to preserve that life. To have written into the constitutions of the States or of the National Government the right of self-preservation would have been as superfluous as to have required a written order for the sun to rise, for water to run down hill, or for any created thing to obey the law of its being. But the right to educate the child throughout the nation is the right to preserve the Government and the nation. That right can not be curtailed. It is geographically extended, and its exercise without restriction is the right and duty of the nation compels its exercise by the National Government whenever there is failure for any reason on the part of the parent and the State.

OBIGATION TO GUARANTEE GOVERNMENTS REPUBLICAN IN FORM.

Still again. The whole people of the United States, that is to say, the nation, by the primary act of the masses and by the act of their State governments, have commanded in the written terms of the constitutional law of the land that "the United States shall guarantee to every State in this Union a republican form of government, and shall protect each of them against invasion; and, on application, against domestic violence." It is a guarantee of possession to stand by while war and tempest obliterate, and then endeavor to restore? Is reconstruction the only or is the better way in which the obligation to guarantee republican government to the people of the United States can be discharged? Is not the ounce of prevention still worth the pound of cure? Does not the duty to guarantee imply the right to prevent and to preserve even more strongly than to restore? Prevention might be possible when restoration would be impossible.

It is a conceded proposition that where a duty is imposed all the power necessary to its performance is conferred, and the choice of means, so far as there is no prohibition, goes with the power.

If all that be so, it is not doubtful that there be, not only of the power but also the absolute duty of the National Government, to perform its obligation of guarantee in the only effective way in which it is possible? When does the obligation to guarantee attach? Did it not commence with the adoption of the Constitution, and is it not the duty of the National Government to see that its operation is not interrupted? That people who are inchoate States? Does it not follow every movement of the concurrent life of the nation and of the States, and enter into all their constitutional and inseparable relations?

Not to educate is to destroy. It follows inevitably that not to educate is to break the guarantee of republican government to the States. If the parent and the State fail to educate the citizen, does not this clause of the Constitution compel the nation to educate his child?

THE GENERAL WELFARE.

But Congress has express power "to provide for the general welfare of the United States," and to exert its utmost power of taxation to promote that which was one of the six greatest ends enumerated in the preamble, and to secure which the Constitution itself was ordained and established by the whole people of the United States. That people who are inchoate States? Does it not follow every movement of the concurrent life of the nation and of the States, and enter into all their constitutional and inseparable relations?

Not to educate is to destroy. It follows inevitably that not to educate is to break the guarantee of republican government to the States. If the parent and the State fail to educate the citizen, does not this clause of the Constitution compel the nation to educate his child?

If in the past the National Government has not borne its due proportion of the burdens of the education of the people, or if new conditions have arisen which require a new mode of co-operation with the States, or if it is necessary in securing to all citizens of the Republic that degree of intelligence which is indispensable to the safety of society and to the happiness of the individual, who is at once the subject and the sovereign in both local and national administration, that the firm and sure as come for a new departure, and that we may not stray must yield to the expanding limbs of the giant who is arousing himself for the labors of the time which has already come.

But it must not be forgotten that the fathers and mothers of this Republic never conceived of the people as the basis of its foundation, should be laid upon knowledge and virtue, and that the promotion of sound learning was deemed to be the fundamental duty of the national power. The time would fall to speak of the founders of the colonies, and of the constant efforts which they put forth from the first to the last to give to their children the best education for the education of those who were to enjoy the rights of citizenship within their respective borders. The Revolution was the outgrowth of the school, the college, and of the free worship of God. The constitution of every State as well as

the Declaration of Independence and the whole theory of the national policy depend upon the possession of knowledge and virtue by the people at large.

Hence Washington never ceased by word and deed to enforce the great truth that education is the basis of the Republic. Franklin and Madison and Hamilton and Clinton and Nash, and the whole galaxy of the immortals who cradled the nation, dwelt continually and emphatically upon the primary necessity of the universal intelligence of the masses, and the perpetuation of their freedom and happiness. Nor did they confine their efforts to precept alone. The Congress of the Confederation, as well as the General Government under which we now live, at an early day proclaimed their duty and exercised their power to apply the property of the nation to promote this great interest. The sixteenth public law, which was passed and devoted to the education of the children of the coming States from the foundation of the Government; three-score years afterward the amount was doubled, and from time to time during the century nearly which has elapsed since the ordinances of 1785 and 1787 the nation has contributed of its resources to the establishment and maintenance of the public schools.

The messages of Washington and other early Presidents, who, with their associates, created and defined the national powers, and the responses of the several branches of Congress, are full of the recognition of the obligation of the General Government to encourage and foster universal education, and as he passed from the scene of official life the Father of his Country solemnly adjured the American people "to promote as an object of primary importance institutions for the general diffusion of knowledge."

The promotion of learning and science, and the appropriation of the public money for that purpose, has always been recognized as within the scope of national power. Measures for the establishment of a national university have been supported by Congress, and the maintenance of the public money and other property have been from time to time made to establish or assist institutions like the agricultural colleges, observatories, the Smithsonian Institute, and exploring expeditions by land or sea, all which implies the possession of the undoubted right of the Government to apply the public money to the National Government to these high purposes whenever in its judgment the general welfare will be conserved thereby. But even if all this were untrue, the case would remain the same.

Laws are silent now. They were silent in the conflict through which we have just passed. But what is meant by this? Not that all laws are silent; but that many regulations which appertain to more quiet times are suspended in the overwhelming presence of the great first law of self-preservation.

In this sense of the word, laws are silent in the time of peace as well as in war. We are now in peace, but if there be laws which forbid the education of the illiterate millions of the American people by the outstretched arm and bursting Treasury and innumerable intellectual and moral agencies of the nation, at large, the nation, and in the end, the people, will be the victims of the people I may say they shall, be silent in this land until by the diffusion of knowledge, and of the power which knowledge gives to every child within our borders, peace may be made perpetual. Universal intelligence never makes war. On the contrary, it is the surest and most effective means of peace. But for ignorance there would have been no slave. But for ignorance among the nominally free there would have been no rebellion. The contest we now wage is with that still unconquered ignorance of both white man and black man in all parts of the country which hurried us by remorseless tide to fields of death four long years. Besides this, we confront the demands of hordes incoming from beyond both great oceans, and of the advancing generations of men.

Whenever the State or the local community is able to sufficiently instruct its youth it should do so, and the national aid should be invoked only when made necessary by local neglect or inability. But this burden is primarily one of taxation. Civilization must be paid for. Education is the insurance upon civilization. It must be kept up everywhere, for the risk is everywhere. To leave the child of the poorer parent uneducated is to incur great risk to the people, and to floods of ignorance and crime as if he were the scion of wealth and place. So, too, in the nicely balanced forces and relations of localities, the neglect of a county or a township may in some vital emergency destroy the institutions of the whole country by remote or even by immediate results. Hence there must be no admission of the doctrine that the general power can yield the right to educate when necessary to the general good. This power is indispensable to preserve the parts as well as the whole.

If these principles be true, we are now brought logically to the consideration of the actual condition of the United States and the Territories thereof in respect to the education of the people. This must be done that we may determine intelligently the question whether the nation should appropriate and either directly or through the aid of public money for that purpose.

A GLANCE AT OUR RELATIONS TO OTHER NATIONS AS BEARING UPON EDUCATION.
In determining our duty in reference to the promotion of the general welfare by the appropriation of the public money to the education of youth, it may be well for us to consider not merely our internal relations, but also our position among the nations and our responsibilities to mankind at large. We will do this before proceeding to inquire into internal affairs. It is no less than higher time for us to ignore the fact that we are but the trustees of our institutions and political principles for the human race. We can not innocently forget that there are fifteen hundred millions of our fellow-men living upon the planet to-day, of whom not more than one-sixth part are even nominally civilized, and not more than one-tenth being in fact so. If our nation, which leads a life which to a citizen of our own favored country seems to be worth living at all. Yet the prospects of the world as a whole were never so hopeful as now.

What imagination can realize the horrors of history, and who can believe that the balance of human experience during the transition from the savage state to the blessings of civilization and of liberty is on the side of happiness? Until the development of our own institutions, it can not be said that the masses of men who made up the population of any nation were free. For the masses were free. Liberty has been wholly unknown, or she has been current only in aristocracies, which, while maintaining something like toleration and equality among themselves, have been more despotic in their rule of the masses below them than any king or czar. If our nation, which has been the most advanced in the condition of a sovereignty universally diffused, to that of kingship popularized. This alone is freedom.

We have gained all that we possess by reason of the education of the individual, and we hold it upon the same condition. We have gained it by the same way for mankind, as we hold it for both upon the same condition by which it was gained, and that is the continued and universal education and development of the people. As the leader of the nations it is indispensable to the discharge of our high trust that the people of our country should be educated. If the masses of work can not be degraded; the responsibility can not be surrendered nor evaded. Our relations and our influence with mankind at large are sustained and felt in our nation, and not in our State or individual capacity. Our position as a nation, and as a leader of the nations, is sustained and felt in the masses of the Republic which shall be stimulated by the national life, controlled by it, if need be, and at all hazards, by it guaranteed and made sure.

The responsibilities which rest upon us, placed as we are in the forefront of the struggle of the world, with the sword of liberty and the sword of peace, and the sword of liberty, by whose sharp edge alone they can be realized, in the other, are not to be sneered at; as they were unsought, so are they not to be evaded, and as God liveth they shall be discharged. The common schools of this country are the recruiting ground and the disciplinary camp of the great

armies of civilization and freedom and progress, whose victories have been and shall continue to be still more renowned than those of war.

Lyons and reaction into the proper education of youth. To so shape the laws and institutions of a country as to perfect the citizen is to make the restraint of statutes unnecessary. Teach the individual man the full extent and just limitation of his own rights, imbue him with a desire to perform his duty, and the education of the masses will be the best of the country, and intelligent recognition of the Deity who creates, controls, and blesses all, and society would go alone. This should be the great end of the law-giver. Educate the rising generation mentally, morally, physically, just as it should be done, and this nation and the world would be a millennium within one hundred years. But such education is now impossible.

Who is to instruct? The teachers are but as children yet, and although the fields are white unto the harvest the laborers are few. Nothing is so important as the education of the masses, and the education of the masses is not an imperative duty; and it is still a debated question whether the nation shall be taxed to save its own child, when in no other way can it itself be saved. It doth not yet appear what we shall be; but no pause can be permitted in effort to better the condition of the masses, and the increasing millions consisting of cry more, more, give, give, and the cry must be heeded, or even the low standard of to-day will sink to a still lower and more dangerous level.

But as we look abroad we behold the human race afloat. We are no longer the exclusive consumers of progress; we are even in the sharp competition with European nations for rank as an intelligent people.

The emigration which comes over the Atlantic is not the same grade of human beings who came one-fourth of a century ago. Ireland is being educated; so is the whole population of the British Isles, and, save Russia and Turkey, this is true of the Continent.

We are not much longer to compete industrially with the sullen brain and clumsy finger of an unlettered peasantry; but with two hundred millions of powerful fingers of workers of mine and factory coupled with laboring wages, will compel our relative advancement in order to maintain our superiority, or drive us to the increase of our already onerous tariffs in order to maintain our own industries and give employment and bread to our own people.

Where are the harvests of the earth? The harvests of the earth are ourselves already, saving the realm of sentiment, of no more consequence than any fourth-rate grower. While Asia, Africa, and the islands of the sea are stretching out their hands for civilized interchange, and are developing markets which will absorb our present and fast-increasing consumption of all sorts of advanced civilization poured into the lap of barbarism and of increasing culture en route to the enlightened state, we have small part in the matter now, and prospectively none at all, unless we arouse ourselves to the absolute necessity of the culture of our present and fast-increasing population, and the mental domain. We have the ships, and our flag is a tradition on the sea, as is rare in the minds of mankind as the pelican of the wilderness in Broadway, New York.

Great Britain learned the secret of power from the defeat which gave us independence one century ago. Since then she has not lost a province; she has annexed the world. How? Instructed in policy by her success she has established her colonies on every vacant lot of the globe; she has tied her cables to the commerce of every clime, and her strong fleets of peace and of war, her warlike marine are steaming for the coifers of London with the wealth of all nations, and especially of those among whom are to be found the profitable markets of future times.

Wherever advances these upheaving populations she sends her ships she carries her institutions as if her laws. Her colonies remain, and she has learned so to foster and govern that now they never rebel, but develop into powerful allies, and her morning drum-beat, "which enircles the globe," stirs the tides of patriotic devotion in the heart of every islander. So it is that she can now present a million of men, and a host of any hostile power, whether it come from the dusky but valiant millions of Hindostan, from the hardy recruits who face us all along our northern line, or from Australia and the islands of the sea. Great Britain is located everywhere. She has learned that if she cultivates the individual citizen and rules in harmony with the impulses of the human soul empire will be without end—except in the end of the world.

Hence, her statesmen, after forty years of study, enacted the laws of 1870, which mark as absolute and a far more important landmark in the policy of that power as the free-trade policy of 1848. Great Britain is using to compel the education of every child covered by the jurisdiction of her flag at home or abroad, and to provide, or lead her colonies to provide, the means to fully carry out that policy. Within twenty-five years, unless we advance, we shall be far behind the English-speaking nations in the part of the earth.

What does this mean for us? Not merely humiliation and half-masting of our banners. That we have already learned how to do and to rest quietly under it. But it will hurt our pockets. It will make us relatively poor. Wherever there is more intelligence there will be greater skill, and we shall become another Brazil to preserve the balance of stupidity on the western hemisphere. What is true of the new policy of Great Britain and of its consequences to us is also true of most other European nations. We would emphasize this aspect of the subject of education. Its importance to us can not be overestimated. To mankind at large it means the millennium.

Let us examine the data of European progress, that we may see if these things are so, for those who compare themselves among themselves are not wise.

In this examination it is pertinent to observe, not so much the actual condition of the people of other countries, as to note whether they are losing or accelerating their pace. Five years will educate a generation substantially, and it will not be long ere the Latin and the Saxon of Europe will reach and pass the mark on this side the Atlantic if a relative improvement shall not be here maintained.

The data submitted below has been prepared at our request by the Commissioner of Education, whose invaluable labors have contributed so much to the elucidation of the great subject committed to his care.

"NATIONAL AID TO EDUCATION.

"1. FRANCE.

"The population of France is 36,905,788. The liberality of the Government of the French Republic in providing for the education of the masses is without parallel in the history of any nation. The close of the last century we had a popular education was in a backward state. According to the census of 1872 the total population was 36,102,921. Of this number 13,324,801, or 36.9 per cent, (including 3,540,101 children under six years of age), were unable to read or write; 3,773,601, or 10.4 per cent., could read only, and 19,005,517, or 52.6 per cent., could read and write.

"This lamentable condition of affairs was due to optional attendance at school, and to the neglect on the part of the government to provide ample accommodations for the scholars, who numbered nearly 5,000,000.

Many communes were too poor and some were unwilling to establish new schools or enlarge the existing ones. After some delay a law was passed March 28, 1882, making education obligatory for all children between the ages of six and sixteen, and the law has been enforced. The law has not yet been fully carried out, but their means are not sufficient to establish and maintain public schools. The government, however, does not always wait for departments or communes to apply for aid; it invites them to apply, and assures them of hearty co-operation. Letters were sent on the 3d of April, 1882, by the minister of public in-

surrection to the prefects of the departments of Morbihan and Vendée (on the western coast of France), on the condition of education in these two very backward districts.

"In Morbihan 60 per cent. of the conscripts for the army, and the same proportion of persons who present themselves at the matrics (city halls) for marriages, can not read or write. A number of communes have already voted sums amounting to 500,000 francs for the purpose of increasing the number of schools, and the minister of public instruction now offers them a further subsidy of 1,000,000 francs for the same purpose.

"In Vendée, owing to similar causes, there also prevails a lamentable state of ignorance. Here 40 per cent. of the conscripts can not read or write. In order to attend school, hundreds of children are obliged to walk daily from 8 to 10 miles. The minister offers the department a subsidy of 600,000 francs for the purpose of increasing the number of schools.

"Government aid to primary education.—In 1860 the government aid to primary education amounted to 2,424,036 francs; in 1870 (under the empire), 9,810,513 francs; in 1877 (under the republic), 22,085,760 francs. In 1882 the government aid will be about 50,000,000 francs, in order to enable all the communes to enforce the obligatory school law. In addition to the above amount the departments spend this year 25,000,000 francs, and the communes 60,000,000 francs for primary education. During the two weeks from April 15 to April 30, 1882, the Government has spent 1,244,835 francs for new school-houses. The total amount spent by the government alone in 1881-'82 for all phases of instruction amounts to 114,353,941 francs, or \$22,717,880.

"3. BELGIUM.

"The following table shows the government grants to education from 1831 to 1882:

	Francs.
1831.....	217, 000
1843.....	495, 000
1845.....	711, 000
1852.....	1, 230, 000
1857.....	1, 689, 000
1867.....	3, 707, 000
1870.....	6, 425, 000
1878.....	11, 500, 000
1882.....	20, 400, 000

"The population of Belgium is 5,403,006.

"In 1850, when Belgium separated from Holland, there were only 1,146 public primary schools. In 1875 there were 4,152 public primary schools and 2,615 adult schools. In 1847, 41.06 per cent. of the conscripts were illiterate; in 1850, 35.35 per cent., and in 1875 only 19.59 per cent.

"3. ITALY.

"Italy has a population of 28,209,620, and a school population (6-12) of 4,527,582. Of this number 2,957,977 attend school, against 1,450,375 in 1870. The number of public elementary schools has risen from 32,783 in 1870 to 41,085 in 1877. The annual grant to these schools in 1882 is 31,000,000 lire (\$5,200,000). The 7,422 private elementary schools receive no state aid. In 1873 the government grant was 15,000,000 lire (\$3,000,000); in 1875, 20,000,000 lire (\$4,000,000); and in 1878, 24,000,000 lire (\$4,800,000). This shows an increase of 16,000,000 lire, or \$3,200,000, since 1873.

"The above grants are made in addition to large buildings and gardens given for educational purposes in nearly every city and town of the kingdom. According to the census of 1861, out of a population of 21,777,254, there were 16,999,701 who could neither read nor write—7,889,288 males and 9,110,463 females.

"In 1871 out of a population of 26,801,154, there were 19,533,792 who could neither read nor write.

"The present minister of public instruction has taken energetic steps to provide accommodations for all the children of school age, and to enforce the law which makes attendance at school obligatory for all children between the ages of six and twelve.

"4. ENGLAND.

"The annual parliamentary grants to elementary schools in England and Wales was: In 1840, £30,000; in 1850, £180,110; in 1855, £608,373; in 1862, £774,743; in 1863, £721,386; in 1866, £649,006; in 1867, £662,201; in 1868, £690,429; in 1869, £680,711; in 1870, £691,231; in 1872, £1,013,078; in 1875, £1,556,271; in 1877, £2,127,720; in 1879, £2,733,044; in 1882, £2,749,363.

"The number of schools has risen from 10,751 in 1870 to 17,614 in 1880; the number of seats from 2,397,745 in 1870 to 4,340,733 in 1880; and the average number of children in attendance from 1,445,325 in 1870 to 3,707,016 in 1880.

"The population of England and Wales is 25,956,286.

"5. SCOTLAND.

"Population, 3,734,370. The parliamentary grant to elementary schools amounts to £468,512 for 1882-'83. The number of elementary schools has increased from 1,902 in 1872 to 3,050 in 1880, the number of seats from 267,412 in 1872 to 602,054 in 1880, and the number of children in average attendance from 206,000 in 1872 to 404,615 in 1880.

"6. IRELAND.

"Population, 5,159,839. Number of elementary schools, 7,522. Number of pupils, 1,031,995. The parliamentary grants for popular education in Ireland amounted to a total of \$2,948,669 in the ten years, 1860-'69; in 1868 it was £360,105; in 1872, £430,390; and in 1882-'83 it amounted to £729,865.

"7. RUSSIA.

"Population, 27,251,067. The government expenditure for education amounts to \$11,458,856 in 1882 against \$10,000,000 in 1881. As nearly all the Prussian schools derive income from endowments, the government grants are chiefly devoted to the establishment of new schools and the improvement of old ones.

"8. RUSSIA.

"Russia, with a population of 73,500,000 and a school population of 15,000,000, has only 25,387 elementary schools and 1,213,325 pupils. The annual government grant to all grades of schools amounts to \$9,000,000. Of this amount only \$5,000,000 is devoted to elementary education. The finances of Russia exhibit large annual deficits, caused partly by an enormous expenditure for war, and partly by the construction of railways. According to official returns, the total war outlay incurred by Russia during the four years 1876-'79 amounted to \$728,984,685.

"The mass of the population of Russia is as yet without education. In 1860 only two out of every hundred recruits levied for the army were able to read and write, but the proportion had largely increased in 1870, when eleven out of every one hundred were found to be possessed of these elements of knowledge.

"10. AUSTRIA.

"Education until recently was in a backward state in Austria, the bulk of the agricultural population, constituting two-thirds of the empire, being almost entirely illiterate. During the last twelve years, however, the government has made vigorous efforts to bring about an improvement by founding new schools and by the expense of the state where the conveniences were too poor. A law was passed in 1868 making education obligatory for all children between the ages of six and fourteen.

The government expenditure for public education has increased from \$2,300,000 in 1870 to \$6,500,000 in 1881."

In this connection, as illustrating the educational impulse moving the whole British Empire, we annex the following data of schools in the Province of Ontario:

"The population of Ontario is 1,913,460 and the school population 489,924. In 1844 there were in the province 2,505 schools, with 96,756 pupils; in 1875, 5,058 schools, with 494,005 pupils; and in 1880, 5,245 schools, with 496,935 pupils. The total expenses for education were \$375,000 in 1844, \$2,297,694 in 1881, \$3,238,125 in 1875, \$3,433,210 in 1878, and \$3,414,267 in 1880.

It will be observed that in every instance cited the nation assumes the duty and exercises the power not only of assisting but of controlling the subdivisions which make up the whole and provides for compulsory attendance of the child. The principle is fully recognized that when the general welfare demands, individuals and subdivisions must submit, if necessary for any cause, to receive compulsory blessings, coupled with which is the duty which implies the right of the whole to provide for the protection and safety of all the parts by the utmost exercise of its power. If the government and its subdivisions are not so complex as ours, but the principle is still the same. Self-preservation dictates this policy everywhere.

It is impossible to dwell upon this branch of the subject or to spread before the Senate the evidence, coming from almost every Christian and from some pagan people, like the Japanese, for instance, that the human mind is waiting for the realization of its innate possibilities. The most astounding and humiliating fact of which we have knowledge, bearing upon the relative educational status of our own compared with the people of Europe, is this, that to-day only 14 per cent. of the immigration which comes from that continent to our shores is uneducated, being substantially of the same grade of intelligence as our general population. In other words, immigration no longer adds essentially to American illiteracy. It is probable that within a few years teachers from abroad will compete with our own for the higher wages paid to instructors in our common schools.

ACTUAL STATE OF EDUCATION IN THIS COUNTRY.

We now call attention to the actual condition of the American people as revealed by the most authentic evidence. Fortunately the returns of the census of 1880 are so fully compiled that through the labors of the Bureau of Census and of the Commissioner of Education the most important data has been tabulated, and we are enabled to give the country the cold steel of reliable statistics. These are more eloquent than any other possible statement, and demand the profoundest consideration of every citizen.

But this should be remembered: It by no means follows that the person who can read and write is therefore qualified to discharge his duty as a sovereign. The line of lowest qualification has been fixed as by common consent in the creation of the suffrage which comes from that continent to our shores is uneducated, being substantially of the same grade of intelligence as our general population. In other words, immigration no longer adds essentially to American illiteracy. It is probable that within a few years teachers from abroad will compete with our own for the higher wages paid to instructors in our common schools.

We recognize the right to govern himself as a part of the inalienable heritage of every man regardless of literary attainments. But the capacity to read and to write is obviously essential to the proper exercise of this inherent right, that, as a rule, we instinctively demand of every citizen that he shall possess himself of this power and we demand of society that the opportunity to do so shall be provided at the public charge. True, that the history of the human race is largely wrought by unlettered men, and there are many educated fools, while many a philosopher and natural leader can not read.

But we would remind those who judge hopefully of our condition because a majority of our people can read and write, that of those who have the power a large proportion possess it very imperfectly, and almost never exercise it. Of those who can write, multitudes do not place a sentence on paper twice in a lifetime. Thousands never get an idea from the printed page. The qualification is but nominal, and suffices merely to accomplish the ordinary business of life under the careful supervision of others, and is not really the source of knowledge and means of interchange of thought. So that the figures of every census are far more favorable than the facts as to the real mental condition of the people. This consideration should never be lost sight of in the study of the problem before us, which is, How shall we qualify every citizen to best perform his part? How shall the whole people be lifted to the high level where subjects are unknown, and where equality and sovereignty are convertible terms?

The population of the United States in 1880 was thirty-one and one-half millions. In 1870 it was twenty-eight and one-half millions; in 1860, 24,000,000. It will be at least 70,000,000. It is to-day nearly 52,000,000. So it must be remembered all the while that even the tremendous numbers and alarming conditions revealed in the following returns are constantly expanding in their gigantic proportions and overwhelming gravity.

CONDITION OF THE SUFFRAGE.

Table No. 1 we take from the speech of Senator BUTLER, lately delivered in this Chamber during the Forty-second Congress. It is the last census report made. It is the rule to estimate one voter for every five persons in the community, which makes the voting population of the country 10,000,000 in 1880. The total number over twenty-one years of age who can not write is 4,204,333, of whom 2,056,463 are whites and 2,147,900 are colored, including about 300,000 Indians and 100,000 Asiatics. Assuming one-half of these to be females, and therefore to have no sons, and not only to be without but to be unfit to exercise the suffrage, and making allowance for the unmaritalized children, there will remain 2,600,000 of illiterate voters, about equally divided between the white and colored races. One voter in five can not write his name. He casts a ballot whose contents are to him unknown except from hearsay. He can not tell the Constitution of his country from the code of Draco. He is the prey of the demagogue or the victim of prejudice, but he holds the balance of power in almost every State and in the nation at large.

Follow down these columns so pregnant with the demonstration of danger and dishonor to the Republic.

To illustrate the Forty-second Congress, New Hampshire, Massachusetts, and Connecticut, of New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Ohio, in short of every Middle, Southern, and most of the Western States, have power, if combined, to decide any political issue that is now, or for years is likely to be, pending between political parties. They represent ten of our fifty millions of people.

TABLE NO. 1.

States and Territories.	White.	Colored.*	Total.
The United States.....	2, 056, 463	2, 147, 900	4, 204, 363
Alabama.....	60, 174	206, 878	267, 052
Arizona.....	3, 550	633	4, 183
Arkansas.....	55, 444	118, 679	174, 123
California.....	22, 625	22, 100	44, 725
Colorado.....	7, 655	465	7, 400
Connecticut.....	23, 339	1, 457	24, 796
Delaware.....	10, 444	468	10, 912
District of Columbia.....	6, 462	7, 393	14, 397
Florida.....	3, 569	19, 447	23, 016
Georgia.....	10, 885	39, 753	50, 638
Idaho.....	71, 693	247, 318	319, 011

TABLE No. 1—Continued.

States and Territories.	White.	Colored.*	Total.
Idaho.....	530	943	1,453
Illinois.....	99,356	10,897	109,733
Indiana.....	77,076	8,806	85,882
Iowa.....	35,815	1,908	37,773
Kansas.....	17,095	11,498	28,593
Kentucky.....	124,723	90,738	215,461
Louisiana.....	34,813	178,789	213,602
Maine.....	16,234	335	16,569
Maryland.....	34,155	66,337	100,512
Massachusetts.....	61,671	2,221	63,892
Michigan.....	48,291	8,758	52,049
Minnesota.....	27,645	769	28,414
Mississippi.....	27,789	208,122	235,911
Missouri.....	83,324	40,357	123,681
Montana.....	725	777	1,502
Nebraska.....	7,821	496	8,317
Nevada.....	1,807	1,688	3,445
New Hampshire.....	10,748	41	10,789
New Jersey.....	87,348	7,844	95,192
New Mexico.....	33,623	5,209	38,832
New York.....	182,650	10,134	192,784

TABLE No. 1—Continued.

States and Territories.	White.	Colored.*	Total.
North Carolina.....	116,437	174,152	290,589
Oregon.....	99,616	14,132	106,758
Pennsylvania.....	2,904	2,387	5,291
Rhode Island.....	174,296	15,551	189,887
South Carolina.....	18,611	1,139	19,750
Tennessee.....	31,835	240,633	272,468
Texas.....	118,731	126,939	245,670
Utah.....	65,117	121,827	186,944
Vermont.....	5,385	618	5,993
Virginia.....	19,473	139	19,612
Washington.....	71,004	214,340	285,344
West Virginia.....	1,011	1,884	2,895
Wisconsin.....	45,340	7,639	52,979
Wyoming.....	45,768	931	46,709

* Including Indians and Asiatics.

p Table No. 2 presents a statistical view, prepared in 1882, of the condition of p
pular education in each State and Territory:

TABLE No. 2.—Public school statistics of the United States in 1880, with number of teachers and pupils in private schools, prepared by Commissioner of Education.

States and Territories.	School age.	School population.	Enrolled in public schools.	Average daily attendance.	Average duration of school in days.	Expenditure in the year—per capita of pupils enrolled in public schools.	Number of public schools.	Teachers in public schools.	Teachers in private schools.*	Pupils in private schools.*	Available school funds (per-municipal).	Permanent school fund, including school not now available.	Interest on permanent fund, including rents of school lands.
Alabama.....	7-21	388,003	179,490	117,978	80.0	\$2.08	4,594	4,615			\$2,928,950		\$138,018
Arkansas.....	7-21	70,347,547					8,100	1,827			\$370,186		614,266
California.....	5-17	215,978	158,765	100,366	146.6	117.17	2,803	3,555		14,853	2,006,800	2,104,465	188,809
Colorado.....	6-21	38,566	22,119	12,618	178.0			678			36,000		ee,041
Connecticut.....	4-16	140,235	119,691	178,421	179.2	11.01	1,630	258,100	612	13,900	2,021,346	2,021,346	112,183
Delaware.....	5-21	37,459	27,459	23,836	115.8	8.12	534	924			344,411		282,802
Florida.....	4-21	88,677	39,315				1,131	1,095			246,900		ad,7,862
Georgia.....	6-18	643,444	236,533	145,190		1.99	55,916	6,000	1,680	48,452			
Illinois.....	6-21	1,010,851	704,641	431,638	150.0	9.61	11,964	22,255		60,440	9,049,302	9,049,302	593,119
Indiana.....	5-21	708,558	511,283	321,659	136.0	7.96	9,383	13,788	692	12,112	9,065,255	9,065,255	663,914
Iowa.....	5-21	586,556	429,057	239,836	148.0	12.25	11,084	21,598	474	12,754	2,484,411		
Kansas.....	5-21	310,647	231,434	137,667	107.0	7.85	5,233	7,780	799	66,205	2,297,590	11,815,519	451,688
Kentucky.....	6-20	545,161	265,581	193,874	102.0	3.85		6,764			1,788,682		114,172
Louisiana.....	6-18	273,845	68,440	45,626	118.0	66.74	1,494	2,025	2,247	44,404	1,390,867		30,320
Maine.....	4-21	214,656	149,827	103,113	9.63		654	654			906,229		27,985
Maryland.....	5-20	227,120	162,431	85,778	210.0	8.64	2,300	3,125			2,086,886		138,016
Massachusetts.....	5-15	307,321	306,777	233,127	177.0	14.93	5,570	8,595		26,289	2,880,942	2,810,949	228,555
Michigan.....	5-20	546,221	362,556	213,898	141.0	68.11	6,665	13,889	703	18,854	4,449,728	15,000,000	258,488
Minnesota.....	5-21	671,428	130,248	717,161	94.0	48.42	24,064	5,215			6815,229		126,233
Mississippi.....	5-21	426,689	236,704	156,761	77.5	2.70	65,367	5,500			8,950,896		ee,036,245
Missouri.....	5-20	723,494	476,876	271,912	110.0	12.29	2,922	4,100			3,323,217	1,754,810	134,025
Nebraska.....	6-21	142,318	12,549	66,156	109.0						6380,000		
Nevada.....	5-21	616,255	95,599	65,108			2,528	3,582		63,066			621,809
New Hampshire.....	5-21	172,102	665,048	618,910	101.5			3,477	572	43,530	1,454,067	2,515,785	100,000
New Jersey.....	5-18	330,685	204,961	115,194	192.0	9.48		10,09	220,500	30,730	ee,139,476	7,265,867	ff,170,000
New York.....	6-21	1,611,173	1,631,593	573,689	179.0	11.03	924	1,295		208	210,376		266,950
North Carolina.....	6-21	430,324	225,606	117,802	54.0	1.12	5,503	4,130			562,830		240,745
Ohio.....	6-21	61,043,320	747,138	476,279	150.0	8.59	12,043	23,684	292	28,650			36,910
Oregon.....	4-20	50,615	37,333	27,435	89.6	8.37		6865	1,314	212	3,744		691,000
Pennsylvania.....	6-21	2,206,000	967,810	601,627	147.0		618,386	21,375	6947	124,006			991,000,000
Rhode Island.....	5-13	32,273	44,750	29,065	1184.0	11.63		1,295			6,676		12,448
South Carolina.....	6-16	4228,128	134,072				2,973	3,171					
Tennessee.....	6-21	544,862	290,141	191,461	67.0		5,522	5,954	1,665	41,068	42,512,500	42,512,500	44,623
Texas.....	8-14	230,527	186,786				6,127	4,361			6,669,067		588,699
Vermont.....	5-20	492,821	75,233	48,660	125.0		2,616	4,325					1,468,765
Virginia.....	5-21	555,807	229,736	128,491	113.0	3.82	4,854	4,873	1,609	25,692	4,277,989	4,277,989	15,320
West Virginia.....	6-21	210,113	142,830	91,704	99.0	4.43	63,725	4,131			2,917,844	2,917,844	181,409
Wisconsin.....	4-20	433,229	299,258	197,510	162.5	7.51	5,984	10,115					
Total.....		15,128,078	9,679,655	1,743,839			187,005	280,143	12,993	560,239			6,362,048
Arizona.....	6-21	7,148	4,212	2,847	109.0			101					
Dakota.....	5-21	12,630	8,402	5,412	125.0			423					2,225
District of Columbia.....	6-17	48,558		20,637	193.0	14.57		2,825			60,885	60,335	
Idaho.....	5-21		6,738				155	7169		75,000			186,359
Indian.....		111,444	36,098	33,944				212			663,634,425		
Montana.....		7,070	96.0				16	153					
New Mexico.....	7-18	429,312	55,151	62,210			138	647	681	61,259			
Utah.....	6-18	40,672	24,326	17,178	128.0		6373	517					
Washington.....	6-21	524,223	614,032	69,685	687.5	68.15	340	6500	681	6451			
Wyoming.....	6-21		62,960	61,287				619					
Total.....		175,457	101,118	61,154			1,696	2,610	112	6,921			188,984
Grand total.....		15,803,535	9,780,773	6,804,993			188,701	282,753	13,105	567,169			6,590,628

a For whites; for colored 6-18. b In 1879. c In 1875. d Census of 1870. e In 1875. f Estimated. g In 1877. h In the Cherokee, Choctaw, and Creek Nations. i In the five civilized tribes. j For the white schools only. k In cities; 176 in counties. l In evening schools. m In cities and towns. n Approximately. o In the counties; 155 in cities and towns. p For the white schools only. q Private schools in public buildings. r In 1879; exclusive of New Orleans private schools. s In 1879; exclusive of Philadelphia. t In academies and private schools. u Estimated average number of pupils. v Includes the United States deposit fund as reported in 1878, amounting to \$101,432. w In State and United States 4 percents, ordered to be sold by the last Legislature. x Exclusive of 1,000,000 acres of swamp land made subject to entry under the last Legislature. y In the five civilized tribes, whole or part interest of which is used for school purposes. z From rents in 1879. aa State appropriation. ab Includes revenue from other funds. ac Apparently does not include interest on the United States deposit funds. ad State appropriation in lieu of interest on permanent fund. ae As far as reported by State superintendents; accompanying is a more specific report on this point, which approximately exhibits (if we exclude the preparatory work done by private normal schools) the number of private institutions, with teachers and pupils in them, giving secondary or superior instruction in each State and Territory.

NATIONAL AID TO COMMON SCHOOLS.

9

The concentration of wealth, population, and power in cities makes the condition of education therein an element of great importance in forming a correct

opinion upon the whole subject, and should be considered by itself. We therefore furnish the needed data in the following table:

TABLE NO. 3.—Table prepared at the request of Hon. H. W. Blair, by the Bureau of Education, showing the total population, school population, enrollment, average attendance, total number of teachers, length of school year in days, number of pupils not attending, per cent. of school population enrolled in schools, per cent. of school population not enrolled in school, in eighty-eight cities (census of 1880).

Cities.	Population.	School population.	Enrollment.	Average attendance.	Total number of teachers.	Length of school year in days.	Pupils not attending.	Per cent. of school population—	
								Enrolled.	Not enrolled.
Mobile, Ala.	29,132	1,772	4,659	4,014	125	172			
Selma, Ala.	7,529	882	717		14				50
Little Rock, Ark.	13,138	6,169	2,503	1,655	33	180	3,666	41	59
Oakland, Cal.	34,555	8,108	5,996	5,067	129	206	2,112	74	26
Sacramento, Cal.	21,420	1,943	3,895		73	200	1,048	73	27
San Francisco, Cal.	253,659	88,569	23,159		28	131	711	13	87
Denver, Colo.	33,629	5,700	3,210	1,953	65	190	2,450	56	44
Bridgeport, Conn.	29,148	6,641	5,229	3,529	91	210	1,412	79	21
Hartford, Conn.	42,013	9,652	7,612	4,886	140	201	2,040	79	21
New Haven, Conn.	62,582	13,897	11,897	7,931	230	200	3,000	86	14
Wilmington, Del.	42,478		7,043	4,472	114	207			
Georgetown and Washington, D. C.	159,871	27,142	15,728	12,568	259	203	11,414	58	42
Jacksonville, Fla.	7,650	1,611	804		17	176	207	79	21
Key West, Fla.	9,900	3,415	1,168		17	140	2,247	34	66
Key West, Fla.	37,409	10,500	4,100	2,609	68	200	6,400	39	61
Augusta, Ga.	21,891	9,366	4,027		32	183	5,339	43	57
Chicago, Ill.	502,185	137,035	59,562	42,375	896	200	77,473	43	57
Peoria, Ill.	79,259	16,670	4,761	3,386	76	200	4,409	49	51
Indianapolis, Ind.	75,056	20,779	8,925	8,925	219	200	11,853	32	68
Terre Haute, Ind.	26,042	8,096	4,138	2,975	78	200	3,958	57	43
Des Moines, Iowa.	22,408	3,576	2,322	1,562	41	190	1,254	55	45
Dubuque, Iowa.	22,254	9,476	3,686	2,585	71	200	5,790	39	61
Leavenworth, Kans.	16,546	3,357	3,060	2,154	34	189	3,37	81	19
Topeka, Kans.	15,452	2,816	1,935	1,607	30	180	881	68	32
Covington, Ky.	29,720	10,094	3,286	2,485	60	198	6,809	32	68
Louisville, Ky.	123,758	46,587	19,990	13,498	325	215	26,587	43	57
New Orleans, La.	216,040	56,947	17,886	14,071	407	208	39,061	31	69
Bangor, Me.	16,856	5,479	3,120	2,458	71	204	2,359	55	45
Lewiston, Me.	19,083	5,974	3,558	2,061	76	187	2,416	60	40
Portland, Me.	33,810	10,660	6,797	4,347	128	200	8,863	64	36
Baltimore, Md.	392,318	48,961	29,961	22,961	822	186	38,855	55	45
Boston, Mass.	362,839	57,703	69,758	46,130	1,201	206	2,065	*103	
Lawrence, Mass.	39,151	6,805	4,800	4,232	118	200	2,065	70	30
Lowell, Mass.	59,475	9,121	12,211	6,045	160		3,080	*134	
Worcester, Mass.	106,290	10,988	11,452	7,913	218		5,571	*104	
Detroit, Mich.	116,340	39,467	15,719	10,818	250	200	23,748	40	60
Grand Rapids, Mich.	32,016	9,784	6,727	3,590	106	200	4,057	58	42
Minneapolis, Minn.	46,887	12,806	7,142	4,248	120	200	6,664	48	52
Saint Paul, Minn.	41,473		3,080		96				
Vicksburg, Miss.	11,814	3,000	1,196		21		1,804	39	61
Kansas City, Mo.	55,785	11,325	5,239	3,140	62	200	6,066	46	54
Saint Joseph, Mo.	32,431	8,908	3,820	2,579	58	200	5,088	43	57
Saint Louis, Mo.	106,290	106,290	36,440		1,044		50,524	32	68
Omaha, Neb.	30,518	7,381	3,716		57	200	3,665	50	50
Dover, N. H.	11,687	2,350	1,880	1,436	46	180	470	80	20
Manchester, N. H.	32,630	4,774	4,250	2,818	86	180	424	91	9
Nashua, N. H.	13,377	2,072	2,526	1,630	52	180	454	*121	
Portsmouth, N. H.	9,690	2,251	1,891		35	200	360	62	38
Jersey City, N. J.	120,722	41,226	22,776	12,905	328	201	18,450	55	45
Newark, N. J.	136,508	41,935	19,778	11,100	270	210	22,457	43	57
Paterson, N. J.	51,031	13,672	7,301	4,750	142	200	6,571	58	42
Albany, N. Y.	90,758	39,411	14,049	9,175	229	210	21,362	40	60
Brooklyn, N. Y.	566,663	181,083	96,663	52,677	1,315	205	84,720	53	47
Buffalo, N. Y.	155,134	56,000	18,666	14,555	439	201	37,394	38	62
New York, N. Y.	1,206,309	388,000	270,176	132,720	3,357	204	114,324	70	30
Rochester, N. Y.	129,366	37,000	13,869	8,250	230	200	23,131	37	63
Wilmington, N. C.	17,350	4,921	866				4,055	18	82
Cincinnati, Ohio.	255,139	87,618	37,121	27,479	671	225	51,497	41	59
Cleveland, Ohio.	459,240	149,809	66,807	50,807	1,044	200	9,632	51	49
Columbus, Ohio.	51,647	14,062	7,902	5,953	149	200	6,760	54	46
Dayton, Ohio.	38,678	11,660	6,114	4,527	125		5,546	52	48
Toledo, Ohio.	50,137	14,898	7,615	4,739	125	200	7,253	51	49
Portland, Ore.	18,577	2,969	2,526	1,630	46	200	5,019	57	43
Allegheny, Pa.	78,682		11,610	8,287	202	193			
Philadelphia, Pa.	877,170		105,541	94,145	2,295	207			
Pittsburgh, Pa.	156,839		26,937	17,387	526				
Saratoga, Pa.	15,809		5,861	1,674	53		9,632	51	49
Newport, R. I.	15,698	3,419	2,580	1,808	53	198	839	75	25
Providence, R. I.	104,857	19,108	13,993	9,630	280		5,115	73	27
Charleston, S. C.	40,984	12,727	7,284		91	197	5,443	57	43
Columbia, S. C.	10,636		2,185	1,383	20	230	876	71	29
Chatanooga, Tenn.	12,892	3,061	1,509	930	26	200	591	72	28
Knoxville, Tenn.	9,693	2,100	1,509	930	26	200	591	72	28
Memphis, Tenn.	33,992	9,011	4,105	2,389	63	151	4,906	45	55
Nashville, Tenn.	43,230	12,417	4,259	960	34	185	1,578	53	47
Houston, Tex.	16,513	2,746	1,756	1,172	23	160	990	64	36
San Antonio, Tex.	20,550	3,023	1,584	934	22	205	1,438	52	48
Burlington, Vt.	11,393		1,566		32				
Rutland, Vt.	12,149		2,395		64		5,082	21	79
Norfolk, Va.	21,966	6,095	1,813	1,117	28	174	5,432	27	73
Petersburg, Va.	21,656	7,417	1,985	1,494	28	174	5,432	27	73
Richmond, Va.	63,600	21,536	5,831	4,778	129	190	15,715	27	73
Madison, Wis.	19,324	12,745	7,405	5,119	34	185	1,578	53	47
Milwaukee, Wis.	115,887	37,742	17,055	11,149	239		20,657	45	55
Oshkosh, Wis.	15,748	5,874	2,217	2,017	53		3,657	38	62
Total	8,300,081	2,652,923	1,302,776	858,533	21,672		750,147		

*More than the school population. This is due to the fact that they are allowed to attend school after the school age established by law.

Average attendance about two-thirds of enrollment or one-third of population of school age. Thirty-four cities 50 per cent. and upward not enrolled at all.

As Tables Nos. 2 and 3 contain an affirmative statement of the agencies at work in the production of intelligence among the people, and to a certain extent of their results, I have endeavored in Table No. 4 to exhibit in one view the

combined mass of ignorance mathematically stated, upon which no impression has been made; a mass of illiteracy dense and thus far impenetrable to the first ray of morning.

TABLE NO. 4.—*Illiteracy in the United States (census of 1880).*

States and Territories.	Total population.	Total population who can not read, ten years of age and over.	Percentage of total population who can not read.	Total population who can not read, ten years of age and over.	Percentage of total population who can not read.	Total white population.	Total white population who can not read, ten years of age and over.	Percentage of total white population who can not read.	Total colored population.	Total colored population who can not read, ten years of age and over.	Percentage of total colored population who can not read.
Alabama.....	1,262,505	370,279	29.33	433,447	34.33	662,185	111,767	16.88	600,320	321,690	53.58
Arizona.....	40,440	5,496	13.59	5,842	14.45	38,160	4,824	12.65	2,280	1,018	44.65
Arkansas.....	802,525	153,229	19.09	202,015	25.17	591,531	98,942	16.66	210,994	103,473	49.04
California.....	864,694	48,583	5.62	53,430	6.18	767,181	26,090	3.40	97,513	27,340	28.04
Colorado.....	194,327	9,321	4.80	10,474	5.39	191,126	9,066	4.74	3,201	568	17.74
Connecticut.....	686,700	20,986	3.07	23,424	3.41	660,769	26,753	4.05	11,931	1,661	13.92
Dakota.....	125,177	3,664	2.92	4,821	3.85	123,147	3,417	2.77	2,084	664	32.71
Delaware.....	146,668	16,912	11.54	19,414	13.24	120,160	8,846	7.36	26,448	11,068	41.85
District of Columbia.....	177,624	21,541	12.13	25,778	14.51	118,006	3,988	3.38	59,618	21,790	36.55
Florida.....	269,493	70,219	26.06	80,185	29.75	142,605	19,763	13.86	126,888	60,420	47.62
Georgia.....	1,542,180	416,683	27.06	520,416	33.75	816,906	128,934	15.78	725,274	391,482	53.98
Idaho.....	32,610	1,364	4.24	1,778	5.45	29,013	784	2.70	3,597	994	27.63
Illinois.....	3,077,871	96,899	3.15	145,397	4.72	3,031,151	133,426	4.37	46,720	12,971	27.76
Indiana.....	1,975,301	70,008	3.54	110,761	5.60	1,838,798	100,308	5.48	39,543	10,363	26.23
Iowa.....	1,624,615	28,173	1.73	46,609	2.87	1,614,604	44,337	2.75	10,015	2,272	22.69
Kansas.....	996,096	25,503	2.56	39,476	3.96	952,155	24,888	2.61	43,941	14,588	33.20
Kentucky.....	1,648,690	258,196	15.66	348,392	21.13	1,377,179	214,497	15.58	271,511	133,895	49.31
Louisiana.....	930,946	297,312	31.93	318,380	34.37	454,054	58,561	12.96	484,992	239,429	53.49
Maine.....	648,636	18,181	2.80	22,170	3.42	626,892	18,758	3.00	2,084	517	24.82
Maryland.....	934,943	111,387	11.91	134,488	14.28	724,693	44,316	6.12	210,250	90,172	42.89
Massachusetts.....	1,733,085	75,635	4.34	92,080	5.31	1,733,782	90,658	5.24	19,303	2,322	12.03
Michigan.....	1,636,937	47,112	2.88	63,723	3.89	1,611,500	58,932	3.65	22,377	4,791	21.41
Minnesota.....	1,742,773	294,355	16.88	344,338	19.78	1,448,418	83,966	5.81	294,369	114,440	39.24
Mississippi.....	1,131,597	315,612	27.89	373,201	32.98	479,398	53,448	11.15	652,199	319,753	49.03
Missouri.....	2,168,380	138,816	6.40	208,754	9.63	2,022,826	152,510	7.54	145,554	56,244	38.64
Montana.....	39,159	1,530	3.91	1,707	4.36	35,385	631	1.78	3,774	1,076	28.51
Nebraska.....	452,402	7,830	1.73	11,528	2.55	440,771	10,926	2.43	1,841	7,559	69.71
Nevada.....	62,266	3,703	5.95	4,069	6.57	53,556	1,915	3.58	8,710	2,474	28.34
New Hampshire.....	346,991	11,982	3.45	14,292	4.12	316,229	14,208	4.50	762	9	1.18
New Jersey.....	1,131,116	39,136	3.46	53,219	4.71	1,092,017	44,449	4.07	39,099	9,200	23.53
New Mexico.....	119,963	32,994	27.52	57,156	47.80	108,721	49,597	45.62	10,161	7,559	74.36
New York.....	5,082,871	166,825	3.28	219,600	4.32	5,016,022	208,175	4.15	66,849	11,425	17.09
North Carolina.....	1,399,750	367,890	26.28	463,975	33.15	867,242	192,632	22.14	522,508	271,943	51.07
Ohio.....	3,198,062	86,754	2.71	131,817	4.12	3,117,029	115,491	3.70	80,142	16,356	20.41
Oregon.....	174,788	8,376	4.79	10,423	5.97	166,412	4,343	2.61	11,693	3,080	26.34
Pennsylvania.....	4,282,891	146,138	3.41	228,014	5.32	4,197,016	209,981	5.00	85,875	18,033	21.00
Rhode Island.....	276,531	17,456	6.31	21,793	8.97	269,399	23,544	8.72	6,592	1,249	18.95
South Carolina.....	965,977	321,780	33.32	369,848	37.15	591,105	59,777	10.11	694,472	310,071	51.30
Tennessee.....	1,394,355	19,619	1.41	410,722	29.43	1,188,834	216,227	18.19	403,528	191,045	48.20
Texas.....	1,591,749	256,223	16.10	316,432	19.88	1,197,237	123,912	10.35	394,512	192,520	48.80
Utah.....	143,963	4,851	3.37	8,826	6.13	142,423	8,137	5.71	1,540	689	44.74
Vermont.....	332,286	12,993	3.91	15,837	4.77	331,218	15,681	4.73	1,068	156	14.61
Virginia.....	1,512,563	369,416	24.43	430,352	28.45	880,858	114,602	13.02	631,707	315,660	49.97
Washington.....	75,116	3,191	4.25	3,889	5.18	67,199	1,429	2.13	7,688	2,460	31.07
West Virginia.....	1,618,457	52,011	3.21	85,376	5.28	1,533,081	72,327	4.72	25,920	10,139	39.12
Wisconsin.....	1,315,497	38,693	2.94	55,558	4.22	1,309,618	51,233	3.92	5,879	1,325	22.54
Wyoming.....	20,789	427	2.05	566	2.67	19,437	374	1.92	1,352	182	13.46
Total.....	50,155,783	4,923,451	9.82	6,239,958	12.44	43,402,970	3,019,086	6.96	*6,782,813	3,220,878	47.70

* Including Indians, Chinese, Japanese, &c.

The above table, prepared at the request of Hon. H. W. Blair, chairman of the Senate Committee on Education, is respectfully submitted to the Superintendent of the Census, with the statement that while its figures are believed to be in most instances correct, they are entirely preliminary, and therefore subject to such changes as may result from the final revision.

HENRY RANDALL WAITE,
Special Agent Statistics of Education, Illiteracy, Libraries, Museums, and Religious Organizations.

The preceding table was prepared in the month of June, 1882. We use it now because of its greater convenience for comparison in some respects than the later tables in the Compendium of the Census.

Table No. 5, with some repetition of matter in previous tables, contains other data which are important and convenient for reference.

TABLE NO. 5.—*Showing the total population, the school population, enrollment, average attendance, total number of teachers, average pay of teachers, and length of school year in days in the several States and Territories as reported for the year 1880; prepared by the Commissioner of Education.*

States and Territories.	Total population.	School population.	Enrollment.	Average attendance.	Total number of teachers.	Average pay of teachers.		Length of school year (in days).
						Male.	Female.	
Alabama.....	1,262,505	388,003	179,490	117,978	4,615	\$1.80	96	80
Arizona.....	802,525	247,547	70,972	8,827	6,590	39	64	146
Arkansas.....	864,694	215,978	138,765	104,966	9,303	80	61	146
California.....	194,327	35,566	22,119	12,618	673	\$1.84	\$1.87	\$1.89
Colorado.....	622,700	140,215	119,694	678,421	\$3.10	56	35	179
Connecticut.....	146,668	35,459	27,823	23,823	694	\$3.00	\$2.79	\$1.58
Delaware.....	269,493	88,677	39,315	27,400	1,041	\$4.00	30	30
Florida.....	1,542,180	413,444	236,533	145,190	6,000	\$0.50	\$0.50	30
Georgia.....	3,077,871	1,010,531	701,041	431,638	22,255	41	31	80
Idaho.....	1,975,301	703,558	511,283	221,659	13,578	37	20	150
Illinois.....	1,624,615	586,536	428,607	258,836	23,508	31	16	148
Indiana.....	996,096	340,647	231,431	137,667	7,780	32	47	25
Iowa.....	1,648,690	515,161	265,581	193,874	6,764	\$2.71	75	102
Kansas.....	930,946	273,848	68,440	2,027	82	\$2.50	118	118
Kentucky.....	618,306	214,556	149,827	84,336	1,934	31	21	68
Louisiana.....	934,943	133,690	162,431	85,773	8,125	67	64	60
Maine.....	1,783,085	807,321	366,777	234,127	8,595	67	28	171
Maryland.....	1,636,937	362,556	232,898	13,949	87	28	25	73

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TABLE No. 5.—Showing the total population, the school population, enrollment, average attendance, &c.—Continued.

States and Territories.	Total population.	School population.	Enrollment.	Average attendance.	Total number of teachers.	Average pay of teachers.		Length of school year (in days).
						Male.	Female.	
Minnesota.....	780,773	1271,428	180,248	117,161	5,215	33 29	27 52	94
Mississippi.....	1,131,597	426,689	236,704	166,761	5,569	(30 05)		77.5
Missouri.....	2,168,389	723,484	476,376	321,132	10,447	433 00	430 00	4100
Nebraska.....	432,401	142,248	92,519	64,100	4,100	41 12	31 42	147
Nevada.....	62,266	10,592	9,045	5,401	147	101 47	77 00	142.8
New Hampshire.....	246,991	77,132	64,341	48,966	3,460	34 12	22 23	105.2
New Jersey.....	1,131,116	330,685	204,961	115,194	3,477	55 82	32 90	192
New York.....	5,082,571	1,611,172	1,031,593	573,089	30,730	41 40		179
North Carolina.....	1,899,750	459,324	225,606	147,802	4,130	21 75		54
Ohio.....	3,198,062	1,043,320	747,138	476,279	23,684	56 00	39 00	150
Oregon.....	274,768	59,615	37,533	27,235	1,314	44 19	33 38	89.6
Pennsylvania.....	4,289,502	1,370,429	815,827	517,575	21,575	32 36	28 42	147
Rhode Island.....	276,531	52,273	44,780	29,065	2,125	70 24	42 99	184
South Carolina.....	995,577	228,128	134,072		3,171	25 24	23 89	77
Tennessee.....	1,542,359	544,862	200,141	191,461	5,954	(26 56)		68
Texas.....	1,591,749	520,527	186,788	128,404	4,606	27 84	17 44	125
Vermont.....	332,266	62,831	75,238	48,666	4,226	27 84	17 44	125
Virginia.....	1,512,565	555,807	220,736	128,404	4,673	29 20	24 65	113
West Virginia.....	618,457	210,113	142,850	91,704	4,134	(28 19)		99
Wisconsin.....	1,315,497	455,229	298,258	197,510	10,115	45 74	42 41	162.5
Totals.....	49,371,340	15,351,875	9,680,403	5,744,188				
Arizona.....	40,449	7,148	4,212	2,847	191	83 00	70 00	109
Dakota.....	133,177	12,030	8,042	3,170	286	26 70	21 90	88
District of Columbia.....	177,624	43,558	26,439	20,637	433	90 15	62 24	193
Idaho.....	32,610	6,758	4,739		7160	85 00		
Illinois.....	39,159,459	12,970	2,508		71 64	36 41		96
New Mexico.....	119,565	62,312	45,151		147			6132
Utah.....	148,963	40,672	24,326	17,178	517	635 00	622 00	128
Washington.....	75,116	224,213	61,935	560	441 14	433 34		487.5
Wyoming.....	20,789		42,090	41,287	49	(455 94)		
INDIAN.								
Cherokees.....		5,413	3,048	1,845				
Chickasaws.....			4650	4426				
Choctaws.....		2,600	1,400	1,021		496	450 00	450 00
Creeks.....		3,481	1,800	1,032				
Seminoles.....			1,000	1,070				
Totals.....	784,443	175,457	101,118	61,154				
Grand total.....	50,155,783	15,527,332	9,781,521	5,805,342				

a For white teachers. b In 1873. c In ungraded schools; in graded schools the average salary of men is \$101.75; of women, \$64.39. d In 1873. e For the winter. f Estimated. g Includes 58 colored teachers. h For white schools only. i In cities and towns organized as one district the average salary of men is \$99; of women, \$43. j Estimated by the bureau. m In the counties. n In graded schools the average salary of men was \$87; of women, \$40, in 1873. o Census of 1870. p Includes evening school reports. q In the counties; in the independent cities the average salary of males is \$53.74; of females, \$33.06. r Number necessary to supply the schools; actual number of schools, 155. s In 1875. t In 1877.

We draw a few deductions from these tables, but can not analyze them fully. They indicate profound and prolonged examination.

The total population of the country by the census of 1880 is 50,155,783. Table No. 2 shows a school population of 15,527,332, of whom 9,781,521 are enrolled in the public schools, 567,160 in private schools, with an average attendance in the public schools of 5,804,923. The average attendance in private schools is not known.

The column giving the different schoolages in different States and Territories upon which the return of school population is based indicates that the whole number of the children who are of suitable age to receive instruction is much more than 15,303,535. In Texas, for instance, the school period is from eight to fourteen years, and her total is only 230,527, while her population is 1,591,749. In Tennessee, where the school period is from six to twenty-one, a much preferable rule, and the whole population is 1,542,359, the school population 545,862, or two and one-third times that of Texas, although there can be no doubt that families are quite as large in the latter as in the former State. Besides this, and taking into account the increase since the census from natural causes and from immigration, we believe it to be a low estimate which places the whole school population of the country at 18,000,000.

But we know and believe that the number of pupils who actually receive instruction has been essentially increased, expenditure certainly has not been increased to any great extent, while in some States since 1870 it has fallen off. We are, then, now charged with the education of eighteen millions children and youth who in less than ten years will be the nation. Of these ten and one-half millions are enrolled in public and private schools, and six millions is the average attendance, while seven and one-half millions, or five-twelfths of the whole are growing up in absolute ignorance of the English alphabet. This seems incredible, but these are the figures. They ought not to lie, for we have paid for accuracy and completeness. At this rate before another census we shall have passed the line, and there will be more children in this country at any given time within the school ages out of the schools than in them, and before the next century ignorance will be the dominant feature of the nation, and the Republic. We have reached the crisis of our fate. The education of the people is the most important issue before the country, and it must remain so for years to come.

Table No. 3 depicts and demonstrates a special source of danger of controlling importance.

These eighty-six cities contain 3,300,081 inhabitants, or nearly one-sixth of the total population of the country. As a rule the school facilities are better in cities than in rural portions of the country, and these cities are likely to be influenced as supposed to more immediately influence the course of affairs. And we are constantly pointing pathetically at the unfortunate South, so we of the all-wise, all-perfect, all-conquering North may well study the condition of our cities, which are as great a source of danger as the ignorant rural population of the South.

These cities contain an aggregate school population of 2,052,923, of whom 1,302,776, or three-fifths, are enrolled; that is, are more or less instructed during the school year, while only 535,533, or two-fifths, fully avail themselves of the advantages provided, and more than one-third never enter the school-room at all. Some of these may attend private schools, but not a large proportion, for the whole number of pupils in private schools of the 15,303,535 in the country is only 567,160.

The average attendance is about two-thirds of the enrollment, or one-third of the whole number who should attend.

In thirty-four of these cities from 50 to 82 per cent. of the children are not enrolled at all; that is, they will never know how to read or write.

New York has a school population of 385,000, of whom 270,000 are enrolled, 114,000 are not enrolled at all, and the average attendance is but 132,000.

The average attendance in Cincinnati is 27,000, less than one-third the whole number, while 51,000 are not enrolled at all. It does not relieve this dark picture to say that these may be in private schools, for out of the school population of the entire State, numbering 1,013,320, only 28,650 are in private schools. Of these, probably not more than 10,000 can be found in Cincinnati. Yet Cincinnati is one of the best of our great cities, and Ohio is a model State.

Chicago enrolls less than half—43 per cent.—of her children in the public schools; less than one-third are habitually in school.

Saint Louis has a school population of 106,000; 55,000 are enrolled; 36,000 is the average attendance.

Milwaukee has 38,000 children of school age; the average attendance is 11,000; 20,000, or 55 per cent., are not even enrolled.

Wilmington, N. C., has an enrollment of 866, or 18 per cent., while 82 per cent. of the children of that city would appear to be habitually absent from school.

New Orleans exhibits the same condition of 57,000 of the white population over 15,000, while 39,000 is the average absence. The whole State of Louisiana has but 4,404 pupils in private schools.

But it is useless to specify these deadly instances. The cities of our country have been on the verge of the record. The revelations of the census ought to overwhelm us with shame and stimulate every power of the national intellect and command every dollar in the Treasury or within reach of the taxing power to provide a remedy equal to the terrible disease.

Table No. 4 exhibits the illiteracy of the United States. Five millions of our people over ten years of age can not read; six and one-fourth millions can not write. In eighteen States, including two territories, more than 13 per cent., and in eleven more than 25 per cent., can not write. In fifteen States and Territories more than 11 per cent. of the white population over ten years of age can not write, varying in these from 11 to 45 per cent. Illiteracy among the colored population varies from 13 to 70 per cent. The percentages of illiteracy among the whites vary in different subdivisions from less than 2 per cent. in New York, where it is the least, to over 45 per cent. in New Mexico, where it is largest. An inspection of this table not only demonstrates the great necessity everywhere, but that necessity is most pressing where its ability to meet its requirements is least, making assistance from a central power indispensable.

The nation is a whole. It must act as such. It is to be as such. In this battle for its life the whole line must be maintained and advanced. Re-enforcements must be sent to the weakest parts. Because they are the weakest is the reason that help is wanted. If they were strong, no re-enforcements would be needed. Nor does it change the duty and necessity even though he be force unless they fight. They must still be aroused to duty, for the work must be done. The evil is the same whether the battle be lost for one cause or for another. But in this struggle we believe there is as great danger to the future of the country from the Northern cities as from the Southern States.

In both help is imperatively needed, and it must be given where it is most needed and that immediately. The only reasonable test is, for the present at

least, that of illiteracy and not of population. As a permanent rule, after conditions are once equalized, the latter will be the more just. But once thoroughly educated it is to be hoped that the several States will take care of themselves. To deny them aid in the present emergency is to throw a general shield across his reserves to the support of his unassailed positions, leaving his already broken lines to take care of themselves. Such a commander would find it difficult to excuse himself by saying that the articles of war required every soldier to do his duty or every division to march to defeat the enemy. It is as a whole that battles are lost or won and that nations are lost or saved.

It may be conceded that every State and Territory should educate its children so far as it has the power, but when that fails, upon the same principle that individual citizens pay taxes for the common good according to their ability to pay,

and not their personal needs for protection, or the number of their children or dependents, must the whole people see to the provision of whatever funds are required for general education where otherwise taxation to any locality would become unduly oppressive.

ABILITY OF THE SEVERAL STATES TO BEAR TAXATION.

Table No. 6 exhibits the population and valuation of the States and Territories, with their totals in 1860, 1870, and 1880, also the per cent. of increase or decrease of valuation as between 1860 and 1880. The preparation of this table was for the purpose of comparing the capacity of different portions of the country to bear the burdens of taxation immediately before the war and at the present time.

TABLE No. 6.—The population and the assessed valuation of personal property and real estate in the States and Territories in the United States, from census reports for 1860, 1870, and 1880.

States and Territories.	1860.		1870.		1880.		% Increase per cent., 1860 to 1880	
	Population.	Assessed valuation.	Population.	Assessed valuation.	Population.	Assessed valuation.	Population.	Assessed valuation.
Alabama.....	964,201	\$432,198,762	968,022	\$155,582,505	1,262,506	\$122,867,228	31	-72
Arizona.....	135,450	180,211,330	484,471	91,528,843	802,525	86,409,364	84	-82
Arkansas.....	379,994	139,654,607	560,247	269,644,068	864,094	584,578,038	128	319
California.....	31,277	39,864	17,438,101	194,327	74,471,693	467	.....	.....
Colorado.....	461,296	241,256,976	537,854	425,137,234	622,740	747,371,385	35	94
Connecticut.....	4,837	14,181	2,924,499	135,177	20,321,530	2,695	.....	.....
Delaware.....	112,216	39,767,233	125,015	64,787,223	146,608	59,951,613	31	51
District of Columbia.....	75,080	41,684,645	131,700	74,271,693	177,024	95,401,787	137	142
Florida.....	140,451	63,629,265	430,843	282,442,917	209,493	30,635,303	92	-55
Georgia.....	1,057,286	618,332,387	1,184,109	227,219,519	1,542,180	239,472,509	46	-61
Idaho.....	.....	.....	14,909	5,292,205	32,610	6,440,875	.....	.....
Illinois.....	1,711,951	389,207,372	2,639,891	482,869,575	3,077,871	786,016,394	80	102
Indiana.....	1,250,428	411,042,124	1,680,657	663,453,044	1,978,301	757,815,161	46	77
Iowa.....	673,913	205,166,983	1,794,020	302,515,418	1,624,415	398,671,251	141	94
Kansas.....	107,206	22,518,332	364,309	92,125,861	966,066	160,891,689	829	615
Kentucky.....	1,155,681	928,212,603	1,321,011	409,544,294	1,648,600	350,563,971	43	-34
Louisiana.....	208,421	435,787,263	735,915	383,371,893	939,916	40,162,393	3	-83
Maine.....	628,279	134,380,388	626,915	204,238,780	648,836	235,978,716	3	53
Maryland.....	687,049	297,135,238	780,894	423,534,918	934,913	497,397,675	36	67
Massachusetts.....	1,231,000	777,157,816	1,457,351	1,591,983,112	1,783,085	1,584,756,802	45	104
Michigan.....	1,449,113	103,533,005	1,184,059	272,242,917	1,626,397	517,884,881	119	417
Minnesota.....	172,023	32,018,773	438,706	48,125,332	780,773	238,024,587	354	784
Mississippi.....	791,305	509,472,912	827,922	177,278,890	1,131,597	110,528,129	43	-78
Missouri.....	1,182,012	266,935,851	1,721,256	556,199,969	2,168,880	523,795,801	83	100
Montana.....	.....	.....	27,595	9,443,411	39,150	18,609,802	.....	.....
Nebraska.....	28,811	7,426,849	122,933	54,584,616	452,402	90,583,728	1,469	1,120
Nevada.....	6,837	.....	42,491	25,749,973	62,256	29,291,459	308	.....
New Hampshire.....	926,073	123,810,089	318,300	149,065,290	346,991	164,299,551	6	33
New Jersey.....	623,057	296,682,492	906,096	624,808,971	1,131,116	1,131,116	68	63
New Mexico.....	83,516	20,838,780	91,874	17,784,014	119,585	11,363,066	28	-45
New York.....	3,880,735	1,390,464,638	4,382,759	1,967,001,185	5,082,871	2,651,940,006	31	91
North Carolina.....	992,602	292,297,602	1,071,361	130,378,622	1,399,750	156,169,502	41	-47
Ohio.....	2,867,511	959,877,101	2,665,260	1,167,731,027	3,198,022	1,534,398,508	37	60
Oregon.....	52,465	19,024,015	98,223	31,738,510	174,768	32,522,084	233	176
Pennsylvania.....	2,906,245	719,253,335	3,521,951	1,313,236,042	4,282,891	1,683,459,016	47	134
Rhode Island.....	174,620	125,104,305	217,353	244,278,854	276,631	252,536,673	58	102
South Carolina.....	703,708	489,219,128	705,006	183,913,367	965,577	133,560,135	37	60
Tennessee.....	1,109,801	382,495,200	1,255,520	229,782,161	1,542,320	211,778,538	39	-43
Texas.....	604,215	267,792,335	818,579	149,732,929	1,591,749	320,364,515	163	20
Utah.....	40,273	4,158,020	86,786	10,565,842	143,963	24,775,279	237	496
Vermont.....	84,315,008	30,380,551	82,348,508	32,546,508	86,805,775	35,805,775	5	3
Virginia.....	1,596,318	657,021,236	1,222,063	363,493,917	1,512,505	308,453,125	134	132
Washington.....	11,594	4,394,735	23,955	10,642,863	75,116	23,810,691	548	412
West Virginia.....	.....	.....	442,014	149,538,273	618,457	130,622,755	.....	.....
Wisconsin.....	775,881	185,945,489	1,054,070	334,299,838	1,915,497	438,971,751	70	136
Wyoming.....	.....	.....	9,118	5,516,748	29,118	13,021,829	.....	.....
Total.....	31,443,321	12,084,560,005	38,538,371	14,178,986,732	50,155,783	16,902,755,803	360	240

* Per cents preceded by the minus sign indicate a decrease. † In Pennsylvania occupations are also valued for assessment. This valuation for 1880 was \$68,639,580. ‡ Virginia and West Virginia are taken together, as West Virginia belonged to Virginia in 1860. § Average for the United States.

In this connection it is proper to observe that in the rebel States, where slavery existed in 1860, the valuation then aggregated \$2,890,029,612, of which \$812,927,400 was in slaves, and proper allowance must be made for this fact in estimating present power to bear taxation. The negroes were then taxed; they were productive as property. Now they require to be educated; then education would have destroyed them as property. They are now doing little more as a totality than to support themselves. Their taxation is thus for very slight. It has been stated as a matter of pride on this floor that in Georgia colored people are taxed for \$5,000,000 of property. The assessed valuation of Georgia is by the last census \$229,472,559. What, then, must be the general poverty of the colored people of Georgia, even when of her total population, which is 1,542,180, 725,274 have accumulated \$5,000,000, or \$3 each, of taxable property. And if these things be so in Georgia, what must be the destitution of the colored race elsewhere throughout the South, and how idle to talk of their educating themselves.

During these twenty years population has increased in every State and Territory. With the exception of New Hampshire, where the increase is, and Vermont, where it is, one in twenty, in every other the increase is 31 per cent. or more; it has been less than 31 per cent., and as a rule it has been enormous. The South has more than held her own with the older States, and the negro, despite everything, has raised his numbers to almost 7,000,000. They are a permanent factor in the destiny of America. They are here to stay.

While the population of the whole country has increased 60 per cent. the valuation has risen but 40 per cent. In Alabama the valuation is 72 per cent. less than in 1860, while the population is 31 per cent. greater. In Arkansas population nearly doubled, while sources of taxation have fallen off more than one-half. The same is true of Florida. In Mississippi population has increased nearly one-half and wealth has decreased more than three-fourths, and generally throughout the South the same tendency is apparent.

As explained above, the negro is not now a tax-paying element to the extent he was before the war. He lived there and was source of profit to his master. Now he lives and multiplies, but both he and his master seem to be growing thus far poor together.

We speak now of the general fact, and believe that this state of things is but temporary. It will, however, become permanent unless the proper remedy of increased intelligence and well-directed industry is applied. And to this end the means must come largely from without, for they do not exist within these States. In Kentucky and Delaware the negro child is neglected only for the taxation of his own race. As a rule he can have no school at all unless from charity. Table No. 6 indicates that on the whole national resources of taxation are not keeping pace in development with our population, and demonstrates the absolute helplessness of many States alone to deal with their illiteracy.

TABLE No. 7.—Amount raised by taxation for support of public schools in each State and Territory during the year 1889.

States and Territories.	From State tax.		From local tax.		Total.
Alabama.....	\$130,000	.....	\$129,000	.....	\$259,000
Arkansas.....	111,005	.....	77,473	.....	189,080
California.....	1,318,209	.....	1,393,572	.....	2,711,781
Colorado.....	.....	.....	636,333	.....	636,333
Connecticut.....	210,353	.....	1,066,314	.....	1,276,667
Delaware.....	.....	.....	419,415	.....	419,415
Florida.....	.....	.....	104,830	.....	104,830
Georgia.....	1,000,000	.....	125,239	.....	1,125,239
Illinois.....	6,086,091	.....	5,735,478	.....	11,821,569
Indiana.....	2,458,854	.....	6,625,139	.....	9,083,993
Iowa.....	4,227,300	4,227,300	8,454,600
Kansas.....	1,276,786	1,276,786	2,553,572
Kentucky.....	655,354	632,038	1,287,392

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TABLE No. 7.—Amount raised by taxation for support, &c.—Continued.

States and Territories.	From State tax.	From local tax.	Total.
Louisiana.....	\$350,060	\$594,090	\$944,150
Maine.....	224,565	596,285	820,850
Maryland.....	491,406	721,751	1,213,157
Massachusetts.....	4,372,286	4,372,286	8,744,572
Michigan.....	4,374,788	2,074,073	6,448,861
Minnesota.....	297,989	1,073,837	1,371,826
Mississippi.....	334,769	334,769	669,538
Missouri.....	2,163,330	2,163,330	4,326,660
Nebraska.....	73,808	713,155	786,963
New Hampshire.....			\$744,716
New Jersey.....	1,017,785	724,413	1,742,198
New York.....	2,750,000	6,925,992	9,675,992
North Carolina.....	(914,719)	6,925,992	314,719
Ohio.....	1,555,207	5,155,879	6,711,086
Oregon.....	133,477	79,562	213,039
Pennsylvania.....	7,046,116	7,046,116	14,092,232
Rhode Island.....	80,890	414,852	495,742
South Carolina.....			440,110
Tennessee.....			\$698,778
Texas.....	\$675,683		\$675,683
Vermont.....	113,173	384,315	497,488
Virginia.....	596,516	665,459	1,261,975
West Virginia.....	212,753	490,432	703,185
Wisconsin.....	225,000	2,198,581	2,423,581
Wyoming.....			407,025
Dakota.....		123,643	123,643
District of Columbia.....		474,556	474,556

TABLE No. 7.—Amount raised by taxation for support, &c.—Continued.

States and Territories.	From State tax.	From local tax.	Total.
Idaho.....		\$48,017	\$48,017
Indian Territory.....			
Montana.....	\$54,643	5,256	59,899
New Mexico.....			
Utah.....	63,041	43,337	106,378
Washington.....	\$102,301	78,319	\$180,620
Wyoming.....		\$71,056	\$71,056
Total.....	{ 14,287,970	{ (419,249) 53,913,986	{ \$70,731,435

a From poll tax. b State apportionment, which here probably includes the income of the State school fund for 1880, the State tax, and so much of the ordinary State revenue as may be set apart for the purpose by the Legislature. c From county and district tax, fines, &c. d This amount raised for the schools. e This includes the rental of State railroad (\$100,000). f In 1879. g Includes tax on billiards and dogs. h Estimated. i From township tax. j Includes income from permanent fund. k State appropriation. l Total income as reported for 1880, the greater part of which comes from Territorial, county, and district taxes. m From county tax. n Includes \$1,750,630 reported as derived from taxation and given in the column of totals, but not appearing in the first two columns. * Special for building purposes.

THE SOUTH.

The Southern States, seventeen in number, including the District of Columbia, are usually classed together as a section of the country requiring special help. Of all but Maryland, Missouri, and the District of Columbia this is true. The following table exhibits their condition:

Comparative statistics of education at the South.

States.	White.			Colored.			Total expenditure for both races. ^a
	School population.	Enrollment.	Percentage of school population enrolled.	School population.	Enrollment.	Percentage of school population enrolled.	
Alabama.....	217,590	107,483	49	170,413	72,007	42	\$375,465
Arkansas.....	6181,799	653,229	29	654,332	67,743	33	238,056
Delaware.....	31,505	25,053	80	3,954	2,270	70	297,281
Florida.....	646,410	618,871	41	642,099	620,444	49	114,935
Georgia.....	6236,319	150,134	64	6197,125	86,399	45	671,029
Kentucky.....	6236,567	620,479	50	650,564	623,902	36	805,450
Louisiana.....	6139,661	644,055	32	6134,184	634,476	26	480,320
Maryland.....	7213,669	134,210	63	763,591	28,221	44	1,544,367
Mississippi.....	173,281	112,994	64	251,438	123,710	49	800,704
Missouri.....	631,995	494,218	47	41,439	22,158	53	3,152,178
North Carolina.....	291,770	136,451	47	167,554	59,125	35	352,882
South Carolina.....	983,813	61,219	73	614,315	72,535	50	324,629
Tennessee.....	463,289	229,280	67	141,909	60,851	43	734,862
Texas.....	4171,426	138,916	81	662,015	47,874	44	728,546
Virginia.....	314,827	152,136	48	240,980	68,600	28	946,109
West Virginia.....	202,364	138,779	68	7,749	4,071	53	716,864
District of Columbia.....	29,612	16,934	57	13,946	9,505	68	438,567
Total.....	3,889,961	2,215,674		1,803,287	784,709		12,475,044

a In Delaware the colored public schools have been supported by the school-tax collected from colored citizens only; recently, however, they have received an appropriation of \$2,400 from the State; in Kentucky the school-tax collected from colored citizens is the only State appropriation for the support of colored schools; in Maryland there is a biennial appropriation by the Legislature; in the District of Columbia one-third of the school money is set apart for the colored public schools, and in the other States mentioned above the school money is divided in proportion to the school population without regard to race. b Several counties failed to make race distinctions. c Estimated. d In 1879. e For whites the school age is six to twenty; for colored six to sixteen. f Census of 870. g In 1877. h These numbers include some duplicates; the actual population is 230,527.

1 Excluding the States of Maryland and Missouri and the District of Columbia, and the total yearly expenditure for both races is only \$7,952,435, and of the whole country the annual expenditure is, from taxation, \$70,341,435, and from school funds \$6,580,632, or a total of \$76,922,067 (see Tables 2 and 7), or one-tenth of the whole, which they contain one-fifth of the school population. The causes which have produced this state of things in the Southern States are far less important than the facts themselves as they now exist. To find a remedy and to apply it is the only duty which devolves upon us. Without universal education, not only will the late war prove to be a failure, but the abolition of slavery be proved to be a tremendous disaster, if not a crime. The country was held together by the strong and bloody embrace of war, but that which the nation might and did do to retain the integrity of its territory and its laws by the expenditure of brute force will all be lost if for the substitution of seven millions of men by the statutes of the States is to be substituted the thralldom of ignorance and the tyranny of an irresponsible suffrage. Secession and a confederacy founded upon slavery as its chief corner-stone would be better than the present state of things in the Southern States—better for both races, too—if the nation is to permit one-third, and that the fairest portion, of its domain to become the spawning ground of ignorance, vice, anarchy, and of every crime. The nation, as such, abolished slavery as a legal institution; but ignorance is slavery will continue until intelligence, hand-maid of liberty, shall have illuminated the whole land with the light of her smile. Before the war the Southern States were aristocracies, highly educated, and disinterested in the science of politics. Hence, they preserved order and flourished at home, while they imposed their will upon the nation at large. Now all is changed. The suffrage is universal, and that means universal ruin unless the capacity to use it intelligently is created by universal education. Until the republicanism constitutions, framed in accordance with the Congressional reconstruction which supplanted the governments initiated by President Johnson, common school systems, like universal suffrage, were unknown. Hence, in a special

manner, the nation is responsible for the existence and support of those systems as well as for the order of things which made them necessary. That remarkable progress has been made under their influence is true, and that the common school is fast becoming as dear to the masses of the people at the South as elsewhere is also evident. The nation, through the Freedmen's Bureau, and perhaps to a limited extent in other ways, has expended \$3,000,000 for the education of negroes and refugees in the earlier days of reconstruction, while religious charities have founded many special schools which have thus far cost some ten millions more. The Peabody fund has diffused the dews of heaven all over the South; but heavy rains are needed to wash them every green thing must wither away. This work belongs to the nation. It is a part of the war. We have the Southern people as patriotic allies now. We are one; so shall we be forever. But both North and South have a fiercer and more doubtful fight with the forces of ignorance than they waged with each other during the bloody years which chastened the opening life of this generation. MEASURES PROPOSED. We think it is clear that the nation has the power, which implies the duty of its exercise when necessary, to educate the children who are to become its citizens; and that the urgent demand for its aid at the present time has been demonstrated. We desire to offer a few suggestions in regard to the methods which are, in our judgment, proper to be pursued by the General Government in the present emergency. Your Committee upon Education and Labor has reported this bill making provision for temporary aid to the common schools of the country, and this we consider more immediately important. There is another measure which has been pending for several years, proposing the creation of a perpetual fund, to be composed of the accretions to the Treasury from annual sales of public lands, railroad revenues, and other sources, the interest of which shall be distributed to the States, at first upon the basis of

illiteracy, afterward according to population; one-third to be appropriated to the support of the agricultural colleges, and the remainder of such interest to the common schools. This sum would be small at first, but would rapidly increase, and such a fund would in time become a mighty agency for good, a perpetual fountain of blessing, and a bond of union so long as the country and culture. The condition is sublime, and every effort should be made to secure the enactment of this measure into law during the present session; certainly during this Congress.

It is proposed to surrender the management of the income from this fund to the States, subject to the forfeiture of subsequent installments in case of abuse or maladministration. The provisions of this bill have been the subject of much careful study by wise men for many years, and it is not probable that any substantial improvement can be suggested to this bill providing a perpetual fund, certainly not until the light of experience shall have been turned upon its practical operation, when further legislation can be had if necessary. We believe it to be wise to pass the bill as it is, and at once. Favorable action will soon be taken on this bill by your committee.

TEMPORARY AID.

But for immediate use, more money must be provided. Temporarily, many millions from the national Treasury are imperatively demanded by every consideration of the national honor and of the public welfare. A generation is educated in the common schools (if at all) every five years. If the next two generations of children could be educated properly, the country would then be in the hands of intelligence instead of ignorance, and no community once enlightened will ever permit itself afterward to retrograde. Intelligent self-interest will support the schools in self-defense, and, once elevated to the proper standard, every locality will maintain itself without much, if any, aid from the national Treasury. Besides, if we could bridge the chasm of the next ten years, the proposed fund to be accumulated from the public lands and other sources would have become important, and would furnish all the assistance which might thereafter be demanded in addition to local taxation.

Whatever is done by the nation now should be directed where it will do the most good. Illiteracy is the disease, and the remedy must be given accordingly. Until the standard of knowledge is brought up to a reasonable level everywhere, implying capacity to discharge the duties of citizenship and being required to do so, or at least should, in common prudence, distribute its money upon the basis of comparative ignorance.

The safety of each State, however intelligent, is as much endangered by the ignorance of any other as is the completion of the nation itself. Such is the complicated and interdependent political and even of our industrial affairs that all great national issues and questions of policy are really decided by the small majorities which are liable to be found in any State. The interests of Massachusetts, so far as they are affected by national relations, are as likely to be decided by the vote of South Carolina or California as by her own. She has no interest, then, save that the money taken from the Treasury in support of education should go where there is the greatest need of schools. Thus the reason for distribution according to either race or population fails.

As to the amount which is now in question, great diversity of opinion prevails among those who desire the extension of aid by the Government. The bill introduced by the honorable Senator from Illinois [Mr. LOGAN] proposes to set apart of the tax upon intoxicating liquors to fifty millions of dollars annually. He proposes to distribute to the States according to population. The House committee has reported a bill appropriating ten millions, diminishing one million yearly for ten years next ensuing, to be distributed to the States according to illiteracy.

The bill or report appropriates fifteen millions of dollars the first year, fourteen millions the second year, and afterward a sum diminishing one million yearly, until there shall have been ten annual distributions, the last of which would be six millions—it being thought probable that State systems could by that time maintain themselves, or that from the perpetual fund bill, should that fortunately become a law, all the aid necessary could thereafter be derived. We believe that to give a larger sum would induce the people of the States where most of it would be expended to depend too largely upon the national Treasury for the support of their schools, and the result would be waste and inefficiency.

The community must pay to the extent of its ability, or it will lose interest in its schools, and its children will not be properly educated, no matter how much money may be received, the burden of raising which the people do not feel. Besides, it will be difficult for the portions of the country which are comparatively backward in the practical administration of school systems, and economically and profitably to absorb the full amount which is really needed, and which will be required as greater accommodations, competent teachers in sufficient numbers, and larger attendance of pupils are secured. The proportion of \$15,000,000 which will be available to the Southern States would provide their existing schools for at least three months with present accommodations and teachers, and in addition would secure the extension of the school system to such districts and children as are now absolutely without the pale of any educational privileges whatever. We believe no less sum can possibly do this.

The following table exhibits the distribution of \$15,000,000 as proposed in this measure:

States and Territories.	Illiterates in each State.	Proportion of \$15,000,000 to each State.
Alabama.....	370,279	\$1,127,869 83
Arizona.....	15,749	48,239 82
Arkansas.....	153,229	466,735 53
California.....	48,583	147,953 82
Colorado.....	9,321	28,373 77
Connecticut.....	27,312	82,532 35
Dakota.....	3,694	9,424 22
Delaware.....	16,912	51,514 96
District of Columbia.....	21,341	65,613 89
Florida.....	27,312	82,532 35
Georgia.....	496,683	1,309,586 42
Idaho.....	1,341	4,215 66
Illinois.....	96,889	294,880 21
Indiana.....	219,186	658,144 37
Iowa.....	28,117	85,644 34
Kansas.....	25,503	77,682 14
Kentucky.....	258,186	786,431 56
Louisiana.....	297,312	905,612 35
Maine.....	18,151	55,379 33
Maryland.....	111,347	339,284 20
Massachusetts.....	75,635	230,384 21
Michigan.....	145,943	445,831 15
Minnesota.....	29,551	89,598 35
Mississippi.....	315,612	961,351 15
Missouri.....	138,818	422,839 63
Montana.....	8,569	25,660 15
Nebraska.....	7,839	23,850 18
Nevada.....	3,768	11,279 34
New Hampshire.....	11,982	36,497 17

States and Territories.

States and Territories.	Illiterates in each State.	Proportion of \$15,000,000 to each State.
New Jersey.....	39,136	\$119,208 26
New Mexico.....	52,994	161,419 72
New York.....	166,605	507,539 75
North Carolina.....	367,893	1,120,692 34
Ohio.....	86,734	260,202 48
Oregon.....	5,376	16,375 80
Pennsylvania.....	146,138	445,136 35
Rhode Island.....	37,456	112,370 98
South Carolina.....	328,780	989,141 88
Tennessee.....	394,385	1,201,296 71
Texas.....	256,223	780,455 26
Utah.....	4,851	14,776 75
Vermont.....	14,933	39,576 68
Virginia.....	360,495	1,098,067 77
Washington.....	3,191	9,719 79
West Virginia.....	52,041	158,516 89
Wisconsin.....	38,933	117,885 83
Wyoming.....	427	1,306 64
Total.....	4,923,451	15,000,000 00

The bill contemplates the gradual increase of ability and disposition to support their own schools, as the natural consequence of greater intelligence in all cases, so that the appropriation and its necessity will pass away together.

In the bill reported by your committee provision is made for the disposition of the share of those States which may not desire its general distribution, when, by reason of the efficiency of the schools, it is not required; for the establishment of schools where none now exist, until every child in the country has his fair chance in the race of life, so far as a common-school education can give it; for the more efficient training of youth in the Territories, in some of which the condition of the schools is so deplorable, including direct and most serious responsibility to the National Government, which is bound to properly care for these future States, comprising one-third of our entire domain.

These features will require more minute examination in future discussions. Whatever form of administration of the funds it shall be deemed wisest to adopt, the appropriation should be immediately made. If it passes this session we shall have lost a year. To have lost a day was deemed a calamity by one of the noblest of men. Who can measure the wrong of one lost year, of one full year of further delay, to grapple with the wide-wasting and increasing evil of ignorance among our whole people? It would be better to appropriate judiciously rather than not at all.

The vast sums expended for 300,000 Indians, for rivers and harbors, for improvement of the banks of the Mississippi River, for an Army which ignorance chiefly makes necessary, for a Navy which is safe only in the docks, the millions paid for pensions annually, paid because there was a lack of common schools in our country such as this bill seeks to build up, and the general profligacy of expenditure which applies to the management of our affairs, are a sufficient exposure of the hollow pretense that we can not spare a few millions yearly to rescue our institutions from the imminent peril which threatens them.

Taxation rests almost wholly upon our luxuries and our vices. Yet it is proposed to give them still further license by reducing taxes which we are ruined for the want of schools. We consume every year seven hundred millions of alcoholic beverages. The interest on the money paid in one year for alcohol and tobacco by the American people, if judiciously invested, would relieve them from all taxation for the support of common schools hereafter at present rate of expenditure. We are liberal in self-indulgence. We are economical in self-denial, even for our good. But parsimony to the schools is death to the Republic.

We may postpone the remedy, but the evil will increase. The issue can not be evaded. Common-school education must become universal or the form of our Government must be changed. We believe that the next few years will decide the question.

National aid to schools is indispensable to the national existence; national aid to common schools should be given liberally, given now, and applied where most needed.

This done, the Republic will be perpetual.

SPEECH OF HON. HENRY W. BLAIR,

Tuesday, March 15, 1884.

On the bill (S. 398) to aid in the establishment and temporary support of common schools.

MR. BLAIR. Mr. President, this is, in my judgment, among the most important public measures which have been considered by the Senate since the close of the war. It is, in fact, the logical consequence and true conclusion of the war. Had common schools been universal throughout the country there would have been no civil war; for intelligence among the masses of the people would have abolished the causes which led to it, and the chains of the hell-bound would have dissolved like the mists of the morning in its warmth and light, instead of awaiting to be broken by the terrible hammer of Thor. Knowledge and virtue are the indispensable conditions of free government, and intelligence is of no avail, for while virtue is the natural if not universal fruit of knowledge, yet good intentions without knowledge are by a profound philosophy pronounced to be the very prement of hell. So the restoration of the Union and the reconstruction of States with government republican in form will be found to be but a bitter delusion unless the people throughout the whole country shall be made and kept sufficiently intelligent to know and to maintain their rights generation after generation.

As the National Government is republican in form, so its own existence depends upon the same conditions as the existence of the States; consequently in self-defense and in self-perpetuation it must secure directly by its own act or indirectly through other agencies the intelligence of its citizens, who are themselves the Government.

Beyond this, one of the most important constitutional functions of the General Government is its obligation to guarantee a republican form to the States.

If the General Government commits suicide by neglecting the education of the people, how can it fulfill its constitutional guarantee? And how can that guarantee of government republican in form be made and kept good to the people of a State who are too ignorant to be capable of self-government.

Self-existence and the discharge of its constitutional obligations compel the National Government to educate the people, who are the common citizens of both the nation and the State, whenever the local community fails to discharge this primary duty of a free people.

Mindful of the time of the Senate, and having in the last Congress discussed this subject at some length, and having embodied somewhat of that discussion in the report of the committee on this bill, I shall confine myself on this occasion, unless the course of the debate shall hereafter render it necessary to do otherwise, to a statement of the facts in the existing situation of the country, which, in my opinion, require the appropriation of large sums of money by the nation to the temporary aid of common schools throughout the country, and to the explanation of the provisions of this bill, which undertakes to provide a suitable remedy for the alarming and increasing ignorance existing among the people at the present time.

First, then, of the evil.

The bill proposes to give temporary aid to common schools in all the States and Territories.

Common schools are the means everywhere adopted to educate the masses of the people, and the instruction and discipline obtained in them constitute all the preparatory school training which twenty-four twenty-fifths of the American people receive for the practical duties of public and private life. I say public life with no reference to the incumbency of political office. By the public life of an American citizen I refer to his life as a sovereign; to his constant participation in the active government of his country; to the continual study and decision of political issues which devolve upon him whatever may be his occupation; and to his responsibility for the conduct of national and State affairs as the primary law-making, law-construing, and law-executing power, no matter whether or not he is personally engaged in the public service as policeman or President, as any State official whatever, member of Congress, Chief-Justice of the United States, or a humble justice of the peace. In republics official stations are servitudes. The citizen is king.

But, since knowledge is power, it is obvious that the degree of education which the citizen must acquire is commensurate with the character and dignity of the station which he occupies by the theory of the government of which he is a part. By so much and so far as he is deficient he will fail, and either become a nonentity or a source of danger and misrule. The indispensable standard of education for the people of a republic, then, is far above the mere capacity to read and to write the language in common use in a limited or perfunctory way. The education obtained in the common school and imparted, if necessary, with compulsion by the State should be such as to enable the citizen sovereign to obtain and interchange ideas and knowledge of affairs as well as to transact intelligently and safely all matters of business in the avocations of life. Measured by this not too exacting standard, the degree of disqualification for the duties and opportunities of citizenship actually existing is far greater than is indicated by the common standard, which is considered to be the nominal capacity to read and write. This test is the one resorted to in taking the census as a test to measure the intelligence of the people; and its use for this purpose by the Government and its adoption as the condition of the exercise of the suffrage by some States have served to fix in the public mind a very low standard of education compared with that which should be set up in the common school. I am heartily in favor of universal suffrage, for a partially ignorant people, with a free ballot actually secured to them, will govern themselves better than they will be governed by kings and aristocracies.

But I desire to remind the American people that the more they know the greater will be their personal power and the better they will govern themselves.

If the American people suffer from innumerable and bitter ills which they can never remove until they know how it may be done, their first great step is so far to educate themselves as to obtain the knowledge from which will result the power to remove the evils of their civil, social, and industrial condition. It is therefore at once apparent that tabulated statements, such as we obtain from the census and like statistical processes fall far short of completeness as indications of the actual educational condition of the people. It is certain that the school facilities which have hitherto existed have been woefully insufficient, since more than one-ninth of the adult citizens of the country are unable even to read and write. What unknown margin of ignorance lies above this indication and yet below the true standard of competency and educational qualification for the duties of citizenship we are left without definite means of judging, but we know that it is very great. This dark belt of indefinite width which, like an unsurveyed desert, lies beyond the well-defined boundaries of ignorance and incompetency should be constantly borne in mind as we proceed with the consideration of the subject.

During the decade from 1870 to 1880 the population of the United States increased from thirty-eight to fifty millions. A like percentage of increase since 1850, a period of four years, would give a present population of about 56,000,000 of people.

By the census of 1880 there were in the United States 36,761,607 persons 10 years of age and upward.

In round numbers now there are 41,000,000. In 1880 there were, over 10 years of age, who could not read, 4,923,451 persons, or 13.4 persons in a hundred, and now there are 5,500,000. In 1880 there were 6,239,958 persons over 10 years of age who could not write, or 17 persons in a hundred. Now there are 7,000,000 who can not write.

In 1880 there were 32,160,400 white persons in the United States, of whom 3,019,080, or 9.4 per cent., could not write. Now there are 3,500,000 white persons in this country who can not write.

In 1880 there were, of colored persons in the United States, 4,601,207 10 years old and upward, of whom 3,220,878, or 70 persons of every hundred, could not write. Now there are 3,600,000 colored persons in the United States over 10 years of age who can not write.

In 1880 there were white persons, over 21 years of age, 21,984,202; persons of whom 2,056,463, or 9.4 of every hundred, could not write. Now there are 2,313,521 white persons in the United States who can not write.

In 1880 there were 11,343,005 white males over 21, of whom 886,659, or 7.8 per cent., could not write. Now there are 1,000,000 white adults who can not write.

In 1880 there were 2,937,235 colored persons in the United States over 21 years of age, of whom 2,147,900 could not write, or 73.1 per cent. of every one hundred. There are now probably, 3,500,000, as the colored population increases by births 7 per cent. faster than does the white from births and immigration.

In 1880 there were colored males over 20 years of age, 1,487,344, of whom 1,022,151 could not write, or 68.7 per cent. Now there are 1,150,000 or more, all voters.

In 1880 there were white and colored male persons over 21 years of age, 12,830,349; of whom could not write 1,908,810. Now there are males over 21, 14,500,000, of whom 2,150,000 can not write. These include the voting population. Unnaturalized persons over 21 should be deducted. The average of immigration is now, however, as intelligent as our own population. That is a thought not familiar to our national contemplation. One voter in seven can not write. The percentage of illiteracy is something less among males than among the other sex, or there would be one voter in five unable to write. Of those who can write a large number can only, with great painstaking, contrive even to write their names. It is greatly to be doubted whether more than three-fourths of the voting population is capable of reading or writing with such facility as to make those arts a source of intelligent suffrage.

Nearly three-fourths of the illiterate voters of the country are in the sixteen Southern States. The same States contain about one-third the entire population. Iowa has 18,836 voters who can not write in a population of 1,624,615. Georgia has 169,505 voters who can not write, and a total population of 1,542,180—nearly ninefold illiterate suffrage in about the same population. In proportion to population, notwithstanding the great cities within her borders, New York has only one voter who can not write to five in South Carolina.

I take the following from the very able report made in the last Congress by the House Committee on Education and Labor:

The last census shows that there are 6,239,958 people of this country above the age of 10 years who can not write—12.44 per cent., or about one-eighth of our entire population. The census further shows that 4,715,395, or 75.56 per cent. of them, are in the recent slave States, which contain but 36.3 per cent. of the population of the country. In six of these States one-third or more of the population above the age of 10 years are illiterate, while in the Territory of New Mexico nearly one-half can not write. Of the white population of the country only 6.95 per cent. can not write, while 47.7 per cent. of the colored population are in that condition. More than one-fourth of the entire population of those States is illiterate.*

The committee call attention to the illiteracy of the voters in the late slaveholding States. The following table has been furnished the committee by the Superintendent of the Census. It shows the total number of persons of 21 years of age and upward, and also the number of that age and upward who are illiterate. [Table, see next page.]

The following statement, showing the ratio of illiterate males of 21 years of age and upward to the whole number of males of the same ages in the States named, is derived by the committee from the preceding table. There being but few foreigners in those States, nearly all of those persons are citizens of the United States and voters:

Ratio of illiterate males 21 years of age and upward.	
Alabama.....	46.7
Arkansas.....	30.4
Delaware.....	17.6
Florida.....	38.6
Georgia.....	45.1
Kentucky.....	39.1
Louisiana.....	47.4
Maryland.....	19.4
Mississippi.....	46.7
North Carolina.....	42.3
South Carolina.....	51.9
Tennessee.....	31.9
Virginia.....	39.3
West Virginia.....	16.4
Missouri.....	11.0
Texas.....	24.3

The average ratio of illiterate males of the ages named in the above States is 32.3.

*The ability to *write* is considered by statisticians the true test of illiteracy, as many persons through shame will not admit they cannot read, but are not so likely to claim that they can write. Besides, a person who can read and not write is essentially an illiterate.

Number of illiterates.

States.	Total number of males of 21 years of age and upward.	Number of males of 21 years of age and upward who can not write.		
		White.	Colored.	Total.
Alabama.....	259,881	24,450	96,408	120,858
Arkansas.....	182,977	21,349	31,300	55,649
Delaware.....	38,298	2,955	3,787	6,742
Florida.....	61,699	4,706	19,110	23,816
Georgia.....	321,438	28,571	116,516	145,087
Kentucky.....	376,247	54,966	43,177	98,143
Louisiana.....	216,787	16,377	86,555	102,932
Maryland.....	232,106	15,152	30,873	46,025
Mississippi.....	238,532	12,473	99,068	111,541
Missouri.....	541,297	40,655	19,028	59,683
North Carolina.....	294,740	44,420	80,282	124,702
South Carolina.....	265,789	13,924	93,010	106,934
Tennessee.....	330,305	46,948	58,601	105,549
Texas.....	381,470	33,085	59,669	92,754
Virginia.....	334,565	31,474	100,210	131,684
West Virginia.....	139,161	19,055	3,830	22,885
Total.....	4,154,125	410,550	914,421	1,354,971

Of the above illiterates 69.7 per cent. are colored, and 30.3 per cent. are whites. In ten of the above-named States more than 30 per cent. of the voters are illiterate.

In six of them the illiterates are about 50 per cent.

In South Carolina 52 per cent. are illiterate.

The State of Alabama has 120,858 illiterate voters. Its popular vote in 1880 was 155,651.

The State of Georgia has 145,087 illiterate voters. Its popular vote in 1880 was 155,651.

The State of Mississippi has 111,541 illiterate voters. Its popular vote in 1880 was 117,075.

The State of Louisiana has 102,932 illiterate voters. Its popular vote in 1880 was 97,201.

While it is true that in many of the States not one-half of those entitled to vote actually did so, yet the wonder of the smallness of the number of illiterates to the number of those who exercised the right of suffrage is startling.

The truth is that no government which rests upon universal suffrage can long continue unless the suffragists are intelligent, in the light of the above facts presses itself upon our attention with renewed force. The words of James Madison, uttered in 1826, are a present warning: "A popular government without popular information or the means of acquiring it is but a prologue to a farce or tragedy, or both." Nearly half a million of the white and almost a million of the colored voters in the South can not read the ballots which they cast. But thirteen years have elapsed since the latter class was given the ballot. At that time all of them were grossly ignorant not only of letters, but also absolutely devoid of all knowledge of the rights and obligations of citizenship. During the last ten years the number of illiterates in the country has increased about 400,000, though the percentage of illiterates to the whole population has decreased nearly 2 per cent. It would, however, take forty years to dispel this illiteracy at this rate of diminution.

There are 145,000 illiterate voters in North Carolina, and 117,000 in South Carolina. I clip the following from the National Republican of last winter:

The percentage of illiteracy to the voting population of the Garfield States in 1880 was less than 6; in the Hancock States it was 29.

About five times greater.

It is true that about 69 per cent. of the illiterate voters in the old slave States are Republicans, and it is also true that nearly that per centum of the illiterate vote was suppressed.

Suppressed, it is true; but it could not have been if intelligent.

Alabama has 120,858 illiterate voters; the popular vote of that State in 1880 was 151,507. Georgia has 145,087 illiterate voters; the popular vote there that year was 155,651. Mississippi has 111,541 illiterate voters; her popular vote in 1880 was 117,075. Louisiana has 102,932 illiterate voters, and cast 97,201 votes.

Mr. MORGAN. I suppose the Senator from New Hampshire knows that the great body of the illiterate men in Alabama voted for Garfield, and not for Hancock.

Mr. BLAIR. I stated that. The Senator will find as I go on that my remarks are not prepared with any idea or feeling of self-glorification for the section of country that I belong to. I have endeavored to simply state the facts.

By the Census (table 40) Compendium, page 560, it appears that the total number of white males over 21 years of age in the country in 1880 was 11,313,005; native-born, 8,270,518; foreign-born, 3,072,487; colored, including Japanese, Chinese, and Indians, 1,487,344; making a total of 12,830,349.

The question of the suppression of the Republican vote in the South is one that I did not propose to introduce into the debate, and it is one on which there is something perhaps to be said on both sides, if it were before us.

In 1880 there were 105,465 Chinese, 148 Japanese, and 66,407 civilized Indians. I am aware of no means by which the actual number of voters in the United States can be ascertained, but if we add to the total of male population over 21 years of age one-eighth of the total of 1880 we have 1,602,793, and in all at this time 14,431,142. Assuming one-half the foreign-born males of voting age to be naturalized, we have a voting element as follows, making allowance for increase of one-eighth in each element since the census was taken: Native-born white voters, 9,203,332; foreign-born white voters, 1,728,274; colored (excluding Chi-

nese, Japanese, and Indians), 1,479,739; total voting population of the United States in 1884, 12,411,345; or in round numbers there will be 12,500,000 men whose ballots will or may decide the next Presidential election.

The percentage of illiterate white males over 21 years of age by the census of 1880 is 7.8, and of colored the rate is 68.7. There is no perceptible change in this percentage for the better, judging from the fact that the illiterate population increased, according to a statement of the Commissioner of Education, between the years 1870 and 1880, 581,814 persons. There is some confusion in the data, but I think there was an increase during that period substantially as estimated by the Commissioner. We have then at the present time an illiterate white voting population of 852,665; illiterate colored voters, 1,016,580; total illiterate voters, 1,869,245.

Generally the number is placed at more than 2,000,000. Such estimates can never be more than approximately correct, but they are in my belief practically greatly understated, because the technical qualification of being able to write one's name, however crudely, is very slight evidence of capacity to comprehend political issues or to discriminate intelligently between candidates for public positions.

This observation derives special significance when it is still further considered that the enumeration must of necessity rely generally as to the possession of even this qualification upon the verbal statement of the party concerned, who is not likely to make an unpleasant admission of incapacity against himself.

I do not believe that more than two-thirds, or at the most three-fourths, of the voting population of this country is to-day in possession of a degree of proficiency in the arts of reading and writing that qualifies them, through the use of those arts, to exercise the right of suffrage more intelligently than do total illiterates. The school education of great multitudes is nominal, not real.

I purposely omit other data as to the distribution of the illiterate vote. If it were uniformly dispersed it would be less dangerous. But concentrated as it is in masses at points along the line, while intelligence can never be too strong anywhere, and considering that a majority of one in Florida or in Oregon may decide the most important of national elections and determine the future history of the whole country, I for one find it impossible to sleep in peace over this volcano.

As will be seen by reference to tables in the report of the committee and to the census the school age varies greatly in different States. In some it is from 5 to 15, in others from 4 to 21, and with great diversity between those extremes. In a speech in support of a measure substantially the same as this, made in the Senate June 15, 1882, after careful consideration, I stated the number of our population who should be in schools as, in my opinion, 18,000,000. I believe it to be now 20,000,000. By the census of 1880 the number within the school ages was 15,303,535. Of this number were then enrolled, that is, their names were on some list of pupils, 9,780,773, leaving 5,522,762 not attending school anywhere. But there were 567,160 enrolled in private schools, making a total of 10,347,933 enrolled in all schools of the country, both public and private, and leaving 4,955,602, or nearly one-third, of the legal school population not attending either public or private places of instruction.

If, now, the total enrolled in public and private schools be increased one-eighth, as in previous calculations, we have a present school population in process of mental training of 11,641,421. If I am substantially correct in assuming a present population of 20,000,000 who should be either in public or private schools, from our total of at least 56,000,000 now living in this country, there will remain 8,358,576 who do not attend schools of any kind whatever, unless it may be of liberal or professional training. Making all allowances which can be reasonably claimed, there must be 8,000,000 of less than 21 years of age who are not enjoying school privileges of any description whatever. But look still further, in order that we may judge of the efficiency of our system in dealing with those actually enrolled. By the census, out of the 9,780,773 on the public school registers, there was an average daily attendance of 5,804,993; so that the real fact is that the net educational result is the same as though the latter number had attended the whole school period yearly, which is perhaps five months of the twelve in the whole country, and 9,499,542 had not received a single hour of school instruction for the year.

If the present average daily attendance in public and private schools be ascertained by adding one-eighth to the aggregate of 1880, to wit, 5,804,993, plus two-thirds the enrollment in private schools (which we may fairly assume to be the average daily attendance, or, to be liberal, 400,000 pupils), we have 6,204,993 increased by 775,623, or a total of 6,980,616, or say 7,000,000 in round numbers. Deducting this number from 20,000,000, and we have the same general result upon the educational status of our school population as though 13,000,000 of the 20,000,000 did not attend school at all.

Of course this calculation is of little value save as it affords a means of comparing our real condition with what it would be if the whole school population should attend constantly five months yearly between the ages of 4 and 21 years. Making every possible allowance for professional and other forms of special training, I do not believe that there is an average daily attendance of 10,000,000, or one-half our population,

between the above-named ages twenty weeks of the year. I do not think there are sittings or accommodations of any kind, no matter how primitive and inexpensive, for one-half our school population. We have now less than 300,000 teachers and an average of more than 66 pupils for each. We require at least 200,000 more, and both the professional standard and the pecuniary compensation of the body as a whole should be very much raised.

In table 136, page 1640, part 2 of Compendium, the whole number of teachers employed at the time is set down at 230,019; the total number who attended school during the year 1880 at 9,946,160, and the average daily attendance 6,276,398. The whole number of public schools, elementary and high, is placed at 225,880; the number of school buildings 164,832, and the whole number of sittings provided 3,968,731. The data I have relied upon in making these calculations have been derived in part from the census and in part from the returns of the Bureau of Education, which are collected with great care.

I propose now to state a few well-authenticated facts in regard to the actual condition of common-school education in different portions of the country.

The Louisiana Educational Society has just memorialized Congress upon the subject of national aid to common schools, praying for an appropriation. Their petition, presented by Senator GIBSON, is printed at length in the RECORD of March 11, 1884. It is such an admirable though distressing statement of the situation that I will ask the Secretary to read it to the Senate.

The Secretary read as follows:

OFFICE OF THE LOUISIANA EDUCATIONAL SOCIETY,
New Orleans, March 4, 1884.

To the honorable the Senate
and House of Representatives in Congress assembled:

We beg leave to lay before you, on behalf of the State of Louisiana, the following statement of facts, and to submit this memorial:

The report of the superintendent of public education of the city of New Orleans for 1883 showed a population (6 to 15 years of age) of 61,497; a total enrollment in the public schools of the city of 24,401; and an average daily attendance in December and January (which were the months of largest attendance) of 17,135.

Although the number of educable children has largely increased since then, the superintendent reports for January, 1884, the enrollment to be only 14,482, with an average attendance of 11,070.

With an allowance of 10,000 in private and parochial schools (which is a large estimate), we still have 36,974 children in New Orleans receiving no educational instruction whatever.

The census of 1880 shows an average attendance of 15,190 (which included the months of most milder and the largest attendance). Thus you will see at a glance the large decrease in the number being educated, although the population is steadily increasing.

A corresponding retrogression exists throughout the State, and it may be safely affirmed that of the 275,345 school population of Louisiana (census of 1880) not more than 30 per cent. of them attend either public, private, or parochial schools.

In the fifteen Southern States, including the District of Columbia, the census of 1880 shows that there are 2,702,835 (white and black) of the 5,703,216 school population not enrolled in schools, and notwithstanding the efforts made by the people of these States and the generous contributions from private sources in the North for educational purposes the number of children unenrolled in the schools and the illiterates continue to increase.

The State and city have done much toward public education, but the illiterates are such a large proportion of the population, and poverty is so widespread, that the taxable property can not bear such a burden as must necessarily be imposed to provide for and sustain public schools.

We are aware that, in so far as ignorance is the source of pauperism, crime, and the rank of thriftlessness, chiefly interested and the Federal Government benefit directly only, but there is a common ground on which Federal and State interests meet and blend. Good government is necessary for both, and it is equally the duty of both to see that the citizen is made capable of performing the duties of citizenship intelligently, fearlessly, honestly. Said one: "Honesty enough, brave enough, and keen enough to resist corruption, defy violence, and defeat fraud."

Both are alike interested in making the masses of the people sufficiently intelligent to understand what constitutes the greatest good for the greatest number; and to comprehend also the converse of the proposition, that the good of the greatest number is the highest and best interest of the individual citizen.

We believe that the very life of the Republic and the preservation of the liberty it vouchsafes depend upon the intelligence of its people, the universal education of its citizens; that as their illiteracy increases so do the dangers to our country multiply.

In the words of Senator BLAIR: "Education, physical, intellectual, and moral, is the primal necessity." The fathers and founders of our Government so considered it. They held that a republic could stand only on the intelligence and virtue of its citizens.

Our danger is imminent and increasing. France in 1870 realized that it was not the needle-gun but educated Germany which so quickly brought her to defeat and submission. She was taught a bitter lesson by which she is not profited. Since then she has largely increased her taxation for public schools, made elementary schooling free and attendance compulsory. Let her history teach us to educate our children, be they white or black.

But this can only be done with the liberal aid of the National Government, and unless it comes to our assistance the condition of our educational work must grow steadily worse.

We believe that a very large sum is necessary to meet the great need of the country. A bill before Congress proposes to give \$15,000,000 for the first year and to decrease the appropriation \$1,000,000 each year during a period of ten years, dividing it according to the number of illiterates in each State.

We trust that some such measures may meet your approval. Some such measures are necessary to stay and roll back the tide of illiteracy in this and other States of the South, which now finds no barriers strong enough to resist it. We believe it to be the duty of Congress to make some such appropriation, and on behalf of our State we ask it to do so.

Washington, Adams, Jefferson, Madison, Monroe, declared the necessity for and the importance of public education. Said the latter in his inaugural address of 1817: "Let us by all wise and constitutional measures promote intelligence among the people, as the best means of preserving liberties."

Presidents Grant, Hayes and Arthur have several times recommended it, and President Garfield said: "All the constitutional power of the nation and of the States should be summoned to meet the danger by the saving influence of universal education."

With our poverty upon us and dangers before us we appeal to Congress to do all that can constitutionally be done to aid in the education of youth, so that we may reap the fruits of industry, integrity, and intelligence.

LOUIS BUSH, <i>President</i>	L. H. BROWNE, <i>Chairman</i>
E. T. MERRICK, <i>Vice-President</i>	JAMES MCCONNELL,
L. L. LEUCHT, <i>Secretary</i>	S. S. CARLISLE,
CARTWRIGHT EUSTIS, <i>Treasurer</i>	SYLVANUS LANDRUM,
R. H. BROWNIE,	B. T. WALSH,
J. C. MORRIS,	WARREN EASTON,
JAMES MCCONNELL,	J. W. NICHOLSON,
R. M. WALMSLEY,	<i>Committee on Memorials.</i>
STANFORD E. CHAILE,	
<i>Executive Committee Educational Society of Louisiana.</i>	

Mr. BLAIR. On Friday, March 24, 1883, a committee of the National Educational Association appeared before the Committee on Education and Labor of the Senate and House of Representatives, to urge national aid to public-school education. The association comprises the superintendents of public instruction of the States and Territories and a large number of the principal educators of the country.

The committee of the association consisted of Hon. G. J. Orr, of Georgia; Hon. M. A. Newell, of Maryland; Hon. J. H. Smart, of Indiana; Hon. Hugh Thompson, of South Carolina; Dr. J. W. Dickinson, and Hon. B. G. Northrop, of Connecticut.

This committee presented at the hearing another memorial already prepared by representatives of the great religious denominations of the land, of the trustees of the Peabody fund, and of missionary and educational institutions, which memorial they indorsed and urged upon the consideration of Congress and the country.

I ask the Secretary to read the memorial.

The Secretary read as follows:

A MEMORIAL TO CONGRESS.

The undersigned earnestly call the attention of Senators and Representatives to the following facts and suggestions with reference to governmental aid to common schools on the basis of illiteracy.

The following table is based upon the estimates of the Bureau of Education. In the sums raised by the States interest on the invested funds is not included except in a few States. The table is not exhaustive, but only illustrative. [See next page.]

We respectfully suggest:

1. The help should be so given that it will stimulate rather than supersede the necessity of State effort.

2. It should be help for the common schools; temporary aid in the training of teachers perhaps, but chiefly in giving them opportunity to teach. The safety of the Republic is the supreme law of the land. This is the maxim which not only justifies but demands action on the part of the General Government, and it should also suggest the limitations under which the action should be taken.

3. The help should be immediate and not remote. The fortunes of war and the necessities of legislative action have made citizens of a large mass of ignorant men, whose votes are to shape, for weal or woe, the character of our laws. Education alone can convert this mass of ignorance and element of danger into one of enlightened strength and safety.

Largely more than one-half of a fund for the education of the illiterate would go to the South for negro illiteracy; less than one-fourth because of white illiteracy. If Congress should create a fund which would give \$3 per annum per capita for the education of this class alone, it will require an aggregate annual sum of \$18,719,958. Of this, Mississippi, *e. g.*, would receive \$119,603; but of this \$99,529 would be for colored illiterates and \$100,344 for white illiterates.

Representing an educational work in the South chiefly for the negro race, in which have been expended about \$10,000,000, and speaking with a wide knowledge of facts, we emphatically assert the impossibility of accomplishing this great work unless the General Government shall come to the assistance of those States in which this illiteracy is chiefly found.

Every citizen who has expended expresses the conscientious and earnest desire of the donor that this work shall be done, and is an emphatic vote for the action for which we ask.

In the name of the millions of Christian citizens whom we represent we earnestly urge Congress to help qualify the ignorant voters who are intrusted largely by Congressional action with the ballot for the duties with which they are charged, believing the power to do this is co-ordinate with the power that enfranchised them.

REV. M. E. STRIEBY, D. D.,
American Missionary Association; Congregational.
REV. J. C. HARTZEL, D. D.,
Secretary Freedmen's Aid Society; Methodist.
REV. H. L. NORTON, D. D.,
Home Mission Society; Baptist.
REV. SHELDON JACKSON, D. D.,
Home Mission Society; Presbyterian.
REV. J. L. M. CULLEY, D. D.,
Agent of the Peabody Fund.
PROFESSOR C. C. PAINTER,
Fisk University, Nashville, Tenn.
S. C. ARMSTRONG,
Hampton Institute, Virginia.

WASHINGTON, D. C., March, 1883.

Mr. BLAIR. I call attention to these signatures, not only on account of the great personal worth of the men themselves, of the superior position which they occupy as individuals in the country, but on account of the representative capacity in which they have signed the memorial. These denominations are also organized into a national educational assembly, which has had two annual meetings, of which Bishop Simpson is the president. It is proper that I should observe here that there is a substantial combination of all the great religious bodies of the country, at least in the Northern States, who have one specific purpose, and that is to urge upon Congress the appropriation of national money in the direction of general education.

The hearing which followed is to be found reported in full in Miscellaneous Document 55 of this session, to which I refer the Senate, but from which I wish now to quote a few of the more important state-

States.	Total population, 1880.	Total illiterates in 1870, who can not write, 1870.	Colored illiterates in years and over who can not write, 1870.	Total of State and local taxes for common schools, 1879.	What this gives for an average school of 30 pupils per annum.	Total sum that a fund of \$3 per capita for illiterates will give the State.	How much of this because of colored illiteracy.	How much of it to white illiteracy.
Alabama	1,262,505	433,447	321,680	\$250,000	\$17 00	\$1,300,341	\$965,010	\$335,301
Iowa	1,621,615	46,609		4,227,300		139,827		139,827
North Carolina	1,399,790	463,975	271,913	314,719	20 00	1,291,975	815,829	576,096
Wisconsin	1,315,057	5,315		5,315		1,315,057		1,315,057
Kentucky	1,645,000	318,292	185,865	947,392	76 00	1,645,176	401,685	643,491
Michigan	1,636,937	63,723		2,453,831		191,109		191,109
Arkansas	802,525	202,015	103,473	189,089	28 00	606,045	310,419	295,626
Connecticut	622,700	421		1,276,667		85,272		85,272
Louisiana	919,946	318,380	259,429	450,000	42 00	955,140	778,287	176,853
Kansas	966,096	39,476		1,276,786		118,428		118,428
Georgia	1,542,180	520,416	391,482	471,089	27 00	1,561,248	1,174,466	381,862
Massachusetts	1,788,085	42,880		1,672,286		278,940		278,940
South Carolina	965,577	369,815	300,071	410,110	36 00	1,109,544	930,213	179,331
Minnesota	780,773	34,646		1,361,526		103,638		103,638
Maryland	931,943	154,188	90,172	1,210,977	275 00	403,464	270,519	132,945
Delaware	218,871	40,000		420,800		150,747		150,747
West Virginia	618,457	85,373	10,139	703,185	217 00	256,128	80,417	225,711
Nebraska	452,402	11,528		786,963		31,584		31,584
Tennessee	1,742,359	410,722	191,485	698,776	51 00	1,632,166	583,435	618,781
New York	5,098,871	11,240		5,098,871		1,000,890		1,000,890
Virginia	1,512,565	430,452	314,660	1,261,975	87 00	1,291,056	911,780	341,076
Ohio	3,198,062	121,847		6,714,086		395,511		395,511
Mississippi	1,131,597	373,201	319,573	534,769	20 00	1,119,603	959,529	160,344
New Jersey	1,711,116	1,240		1,711,116		150,747		150,747
Florida	269,493	80,183	60,420	104,559	39 00	240,519	181,260	59,289
New Hampshire	346,991	14,302		541,716		42,906		42,906
Maine	2,168,380	208,754	56,244	2,163,330		626,262	168,732	457,530
Illinois	5,077,871	115,397		6,735,478	310 00	436,191		436,191

ments made on that occasion. Superintendent Orr, of Georgia, addressed the committees as follows:

Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the committee, the duty assigned me on this occasion is a very simple one. I have been laboring in this work in my State for the last ten years.

I desire to say that Superintendent Orr can speak with larger and more reliable authority probably from the standpoint of an educated, energetic, and patriotic Southern man upon this subject than any other man whatever in the whole country. I consider his statements as of very special significance, and entitled not alone to the attention of the Senate but of the entire country; in fact, all that I shall read, much to the weariness, I trust not to the disgust, of any members of the Senate, will be from representative men, who are much better authority on this subject than anything I might state. Mr. Orr said:

I have been the representative of the Department of Education since 1872. I do not propose to detain the committee by any lengthened remarks. I propose to give you, gentlemen, some plain facts showing our condition, showing our necessities, showing the temper and spirit of our people, and I feel that when I do this, when I put before you the condition of the State of Georgia, I shall have given you a type of what prevails throughout the entire South.

To the year 1860 when one of the honored Senators from my State, now present, was our chief executive, the tax returns, according to the documents in the office of the comptroller-general, summed up \$672,000,000. After I entered the office which I now have the honor of filling I went to the files of that office for the purpose of trying to ascertain the aggregate value of property at the first return made after the war. I found it to be \$170,000,000. The property of the State was thus reduced \$500,000,000 in value. This made a great change in the condition of the State, as you may well know; but this does not represent fully the change. It lacks a good deal of it.

I will put before you, gentlemen, a few other considerations which will show more fully the great change which was wrought. Everything that we had accumulated during the four years of the unhappy struggle in which we engaged was invested in Confederate securities, and was held in the shape either of bonds or of Confederate currency. Thus what remained of the labor of four years, after the devastation of your farms and the scattering of your people, was lost out in one hour. Hundreds, thousands, and tens of thousands of the best men in the State of Georgia were thus left in a condition in which, under the old postal laws of the United States, when postage was paid at the place of delivery, they could not have taken a letter from the post-office. You will very readily understand, then, how we were situated as to our capacity to commence life again.

Not only this, but the whole labor system of the country was thrown into disorganization. The agriculturists had no means of going to work again, and yet were an agricultural people, as you well know. They had no capital to begin with. They had to borrow. They had to give a lien upon the products of the soil in order to enable them to pay the debts, and those who held the capital expected exorbitant interest. Our farmers and agriculturists have been paying from 50 to 100 per cent. for advances. Having their noses thus put to the grindstone, they have been kept there up to the present time, for every intelligent man knows very well that farming can not be conducted successfully when the capital used in it costs such a percentage. The lack of resources and the utterly disordered condition of the labor of the country put us in a very helpless condition.

Let me glance for a few moments at certain other facts. We had in the State of Georgia two kinds of citizens—those who had always been citizens, and a number of persons, very nearly equal, who had been made citizens as a result of the war. The last school enumeration, which was taken four years ago, showed that we had 140,000 colored school children in the State. The entire school population is 453,411. The difference will show you how many are colored; nearly half, you will see.

Let me say a few words about the colored people. They were made free without resources. They had no capital; they had no habits that would lead them when thrown upon their own resources to accumulate capital. They have been gathering capital gradually, until I am very glad to report that the last return of the property of the State showed that there were in the hands of the colored people of that State some \$6,000,000 worth of property. I think the colored people

of my State have done nobly; I say it here to their credit. But the point I am now making is the immense burden which was put upon us. I do not give you an idea of that burden by telling you the number of persons who were suddenly made free, that do not give you the full picture.

There is no means of getting at the number exactly, but I think at least one-half of the white population was in the same condition, utterly wrecked, ruined financially by the results of the unfortunate struggle in which we had engaged. For one I want to see the last remains of that struggle forever buried so deep that the hand of resurrection will never bring them up again. I think it becomes us of this generation to begin to think about living for the future, to forget the past. We have a great country, and here we must dwell; our people want to dwell with you in unity and harmony. I know what I say, I have visited in the course of the administration of my office almost every county in the State of Georgia. I have made two hundred addresses to the people. I have stated to you the difficulties now. I know the condition; I know the spirit of the people, the present sentiment. I know very many among them in their cottages and in their cabins, for I have visited the colored man as well as the white man. I have mingled with all; I know their feelings.

I want to say to you, gentlemen, that in the State of Georgia, under my administration of ten years, the entire loss of school fund will not foot up more than about \$6,000. In an administration covering ten years there has not been a single dollar misapplied with that exception that I know of. We try to make it do the greatest possible amount of good. We try to manage it with the greatest economy. We admit to our schools all who want to enter them. We commenced in 1871 with a school attendance of 48,000. We have gone gradually upward. My brethren here will excuse me for using the same illustration which I did before the association when in session. One of the fathers, a man contributed to the education of the masses for eleven or twelve years. I have of that State—I allude to Abraham Baldwin—in speaking once of central power, illustrated it by that wonderful power known as the screw. He stated that at every revolution it gained a little and it held all it gained. I quote his illustration, not making the same application of it; I make a very different one.

We have gained at every revolution a little in Georgia, and we retain all that we gain. We are moving steadily forward. We commenced with an attendance of 48,000 the first year. The second year we had 53,000, the next year 136,000, the next 156,000. I shall not follow the statistics along. Year before last (your year) work has not been footed up, as the returns are not all in; we went upon school attendance of 236,000. We have never failed to gain as much as 9,000 in any year. We have gone over that at attendance every year, and the colored people have increased in number in the same proportion in their attendance at the schools with 6,000 and went up, according to the last return, to 86,000 colored children in our schools. There is no discrimination made; no man can afford to do it in an office in my State. So strong is the school sentiment in favor of the admission of colored children to our schools that we must do it. We are struggling to do the very best we can with our limited means.

I have read a good deal on the subject of the school history of this country and of the different States. In addition to that, I have been giving my attention to this great subject of the education of the masses for eleven or twelve years. I have been reading whatever fell into my hands, and you will excuse me when I say that considering the circumstances in which we were placed, the great disadvantages under which we labored, the immense difficulties which we had to contend with—consider all these things and considering the work achieved, I do not believe the equal of it has been done in any State of this Union in any time during the past. If it has, it is not within my knowledge. We have wrought a marvelous work, but we are unable to do what ought to be done. We come to you as a people, the people of the strong arm of the Government, the Government of your fathers and of our fathers, for we are one of the old thirteen. We stood shoulder to shoulder with you in that contest, and I want to say here to-day that if another contest shall arise our people will stand by the people of this Union, and we will support the Government of the United States.

Gentlemen, I do not know that I could state anything further that would be of service to you. I wish to add that I was greatly gratified when my brethren here from New England, from the great Northwest, and from the Middle States, and from the Southern States, met in council, and when we sat down as brethren, and when we agreed almost unanimously upon every point to be submitted to this committee for consideration. We are practically a unit, and on all of these reconstructions of the Government and of the country agree.

Now, gentlemen, begging pardon for taking up so much of your valuable time, and thinking that it is proper for me to yield to others who may have something to say on this occasion, I shall conclude by asking, as I know I shall have,

the candid consideration of this great question of the education of the masses, greater than questions of commerce, than questions of currency, than questions of tariff, than questions of constitutional law—greater than any questions that statesmanship will have to contend with and settle, because we make the people and without the people we have nothing else. We make the men and women of the country. I shall say nothing further.

Representative Updegraff, now dead, asked this question, to which Mr. Orr responded:

I would like to ask the honorable gentleman whether the average time of continuance at school has increased or not?

Mr. Orr. Our last Legislature succeeded in adding about \$100,000 to the fund. We shall have this year very nearly \$200,000 to operate with. We shall be able to run our schools in many of our counties absolutely free for four months of the present year—that is, the State will have nothing to pay for the entire expense for three months. We are adding just as rapidly as we can.

THE PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. HARRIS in the chair). The hour of 2 o'clock having arrived the Chair will lay before the Senate the unfinished business, which the Chair believes is the bill to which, by the unanimous consent of the Senate, the Senator from New Hampshire is now addressing himself. It is now before the Senate in its own right for consideration. The Senator from New Hampshire is entitled to the floor.

Mr. BLAIR. Hon. Hugh Thompson, of South Carolina, was before the committee and made the following statement from his standpoint as a prominent citizen of that State, and as superintendent of public instruction, I think, at that time:

Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the committee, in presenting the view of South Carolina I shall call the attention of the committee to three points, first, That the State of South Carolina is now doing in all her power for public education.

Secondly. That it is impossible in her impoverished condition for her to furnish the means of education to the children; and

Thirdly. That the aid we ask for, if granted at all, should be granted immediately.

I have brought here some figures from the school returns of South Carolina which I wish to read to you, and then I shall make to the committee, I think, be glad to answer any question that any member of the committee may wish to ask. An interruption will not interfere at all with the line that I shall take.

I call the attention of the committee, first to the fact that in 1877, when I took charge of the department of education in South Carolina, the first thing I did was to call for a statement from the different counties of the amount of past indebtedness, known as the school indebtedness. I was aware that it was large, but I was surprised to find when the returns came in that we had upon us a debt of \$210,000 due against the school fund. This debt at that time of \$210,000 was supposed to be the full limit, but upon subsequent investigation it turned out to be much larger. During the period from 1877 until the present time we have been attempting to pay off the debt, but in some of the counties the debt has been entirely liquidated, and there are not more than one or two counties now remaining in which there is any considerable debt to be paid. But that debt has hampered us in every move we have made to strengthen and develop our public-school system. In the State there have been \$191,300 known as agricultural land scrip. There was not one cent of that money to be found in the treasury; the last dollar of it had been misappropriated. That fund, too, has been restored.

The committee will observe, therefore, that we have paid a debt of over \$400,000, money that ought to have been used for elementary and higher education, and that we have thus been hampered in our attempts to make the school system as strong as it might otherwise have been.

The assessed value of the property of South Carolina to-day is nearly \$138,000,000. We have three sources of revenue from which our school-tax is derived. First, it comes from a constitutional tax of 2 mills on the dollar upon all the taxable property of the State. The amendment to the constitution making this a part of the organic law of the State was adopted in January, 1877. Observe, gentlemen, that this is part of the organic law; it is not subject to changes by different Legislatures. We are glad to state that each year the income from this source grows larger and larger as the assessed value of property is raised.

The second source from which we derive an income is from the poll-tax. There are in the State of South Carolina, on the books, 140,000 polls, and the poll-tax there is \$1 a head. We have never succeeded in collecting more than \$114,000 from this source, owing to the fact that a large number of the voters of the State are entirely without property, and we can not enforce the collection of even the \$1 per head.

The third source from which we derive our revenue is local taxation. This mode of raising taxes is becoming more and more in vogue each year. At each session of the Legislature we find different towns coming forward and asking permission to levy additional taxation.

The misuse of the public money during the first years of the school system, from 1868 to 1877, and especially the abuse of power under the local-tax laws, is one of the greatest misdeeds of the school men of this country. I do not contend with, because we are constantly met with the charge that the thousands of dollars that were wrung from the people within the period named were misapplied, were stolen and misappropriated, and that this public-school system is only an engine for robbery for which money was taken from the pockets of the people for which it was intended. I believe, though, that this spirit is rapidly passing away. As I said the other night before the association of superintendents, I am convinced that if to-day the question of maintaining the public-school system of South Carolina were submitted to a vote of 500,000 men, in other words, the very large majority which it would be in favor of maintaining it and strengthening it and of developing it so far as may be in their power.

I should like to call the attention of the committee, in order to show what the State is doing, to a brief comparison of the taxes collected for the different purposes in South Carolina. The whole of the State tax, in round numbers, is \$629,000. The proceeds of the county taxes are about \$800,000, making a total of nearly \$1,500,000. The proceeds of the school and poll taxes, according to the last returns of the controller-general, were \$460,000. In other words, the school tax of South Carolina is about one-third of all the other taxes that are collected in the State. The assessed school tax was \$455,000. Of course the actual amount collected was a little less than that, being about \$429,000, because there were a number of non-paying taxes.

In addition to this the State now makes an appropriation of \$24,000 for the University of South Carolina. That university has two branches, the old South Carolina College at Columbia, for the whites, and the Claffin College at Orangeburg, for the colored. The Claffin College is partly supported from benefactions by benevolent persons at the North; but these two institutions for the higher education of white and colored are maintained by the State at an annual cost of about \$24,000. In both these institutions instruction is free; no charge whatever is made for tuition. In the Claffin school at Orangeburg we have a normal

department for teachers, which is each year turning out successive bodies of skilled and trained teachers, who are doing estimable work for the colored. In addition to this the State has recently made provision for the re-establishment of its military academy, appropriating \$15,000 this year for that purpose. In this military academy there will be supported now, as before the war, two cadets from each county, who pay nothing whatever. They are supported in full by the State, and they are required to teach two years in the public schools of the State after their graduation. There will be another class of young men in the institution known as pay cadets, who will pay moderate tuition for themselves, and will not be required to render any service. They will pay their way through the institution. Besides that we have the normal institute, supported by the State, of one year an appropriation of \$1,500 having been made for that purpose.

You will observe, therefore, gentlemen, that we are appropriating now about \$455,000 for elementary education in South Carolina and a little over \$40,000 for higher education, making a total of more than half a million dollars which South Carolina is devoting to this purpose, with an assessed valuation of property of but \$138,000,000.

I should like to call the attention of the committee to another comparison. The whole expense of the State government of South Carolina for the last year, inclusive of interest on the public debt, was \$28,575. The expenses for the maintenance of the charitable institutions, there being but two, an asylum for the insane, and one for the deaf and dumb, were \$116,164. Therefore the expense of public schools and of charitable institutions was \$551,164. For these purposes South Carolina appropriates two and a half times as much as she does for the whole expenses of her State government. For public schools alone she appropriates twice as much as she does for all the expenses of the State government. I mention these facts in support of the position which I take that the State is doing all she can for the education of her people.

I now desire to call the attention of the committee to the second point I make, which is that the State of South Carolina is unable because of her impoverished condition to give proper instruction to all classes of her people. The scholastic population of the State is 1,000,000, between 10 and 15 years of age. The returns of the county school commissioners in 1875 (I have been unable to get the returns of the census, which are more accurate, and I doubt not will show even larger figures than these) was, whites 85,675, colored 152,238, making a total of 237,913 children. The school attendance in South Carolina for the year 1880-'81 was, whites 61,330, colored 12,119, making a total of 73,449 at the public schools. The expenditure per capita of school population is \$1.95, the expenditure per capita of school attendance \$3.50. I call the attention of the committee to the fact that the public schools are not doing their duty. The distinction is made on account of race or color, according to these returns (which are inaccurate, because I believe they are below the truth), we have 100,000 children in the State of South Carolina whom we are unable to educate for the want of larger means. The number of white children in the State last year was 3,067, the number of white teachers 2,026, the number of colored teachers 1,223, making the total number of teachers 3,249.

Taking the illiteracy of South Carolina shown by the return of the last census, which I had an opportunity of observing last night, the ratio of white illiterates to the whole population is 7.77 per cent.; the ratio of colored illiteracy to the whole population is 33.09. I maintain that as far as controlling the white illiteracy in the State is concerned, South Carolina is able, ready, and willing to control it; and that she is equally ready and willing to control the colored illiteracy, but that it is beyond her power to do so. It is from this class of our citizens, a class to whom I claim that the State government of South Carolina in all its departments has done full and ample justice, that the trouble comes. I believe I speak for the sentiment of the majority of the people of the State when I say that we in South Carolina feel that the safety and prosperity of the State depend upon the education of that class of our citizens. I need not speak to you, gentlemen of the committee, of the limited opportunities that the colored people have had heretofore for education, but I do know that the absolute to do for four more years that if the United States Government does not hold out a helping hand to us at this time we shall continue to send forth each year illiterate voters by thousands.

Bear in mind, gentlemen, that one generation of these people has grown up with the opportunities of this generation. This generation has got now the fathers and mothers of another generation coming along. It is a well-established fact, a principle recognized by all, that to appreciate education is a consequence of education itself. It is necessary, therefore, for the State and for the General Government to come to the front in this time, and to make South Carolina feel that the Southern States will believe the people of those States desire that they shall be, thoroughly educated.

I will call the attention of the committee to the fact that there are now in the Southern States about 5,000,000 children ready for the first grade of primary or education. The expenditure of the Southern States upon this head are about \$7,000,000; but little more than a dollar a head. It would take at the lowest calculation \$30,000,000 to furnish the opportunities of education to our children in the South. Gentlemen, I say, as one knowing the spirit of the people and knowing their limited resources, that we have not the means to furnish this education.

I do not propose to detain the committee with any argument as to the right of the General Government to furnish the means for which we ask. I desire to say for my State, and I am sure that I speak the sentiment of other States, that we do not come here as mendicants in this matter. We do not come here asking for charity. We have put our own shoulders to the wheel; we are using all the power to our aid, and we are simply asking that the Government should do the same. We are in the time of our great necessity, because if this aid is withheld now, if it is not granted now, as I have shown, there are thousands of children whom we are unable to educate, and who need this assistance at this very moment, and who will not be educated.

I was told this morning, since I entered this room, by a gentleman to whom I was introduced, that South Carolina always liked to be in the front. As of old, South Carolina wants to be in the front in the matter of public education. It is for that reason, gentlemen, that I am here, because we are not far from the front in our desire to furnish this education ourselves. I believe it is but a few moments ago when some gentlemen from this side were called before a committee of the House of Representatives of Congress with regard to the deepening of the harbor of Charleston and the improvement of the waterway of the city and the harbor now going on under the charge of a distinguished engineer, a distinguished soldier, whose duty it was during the war to leave more imperishable marks upon the city of Charleston. He is there now in the quiet pursuits of peace, deepening that harbor, and advancing the South Carolina, one of the great metropolises of the country, which she has so long needed; but, gentlemen, there is a need that South Carolina has not second even to the deepening of the harbor of her great metropolises. Great as are her resources, wonderful as her power is when fully developed, and as her strength and her greatness are, we are not the best of her people. It is for that purpose we are here to ask the Government to give her the means of developing the brains of her people, and we do ask that we may have an opportunity of coming to the front and staying there, as one of the great States of the Union, and that we may share to the full the benefits of this great country, and making South Carolina as one of the States of the Union, contribute her quota to make the people of this whole country once more free, prosperous, happy, and united.

I call the attention of the Senate to these particulars because they demonstrate that on the part of the State of South Carolina there is really

white man, is profoundly unsatisfactory and insufficient for the leading class of the white population, in other words, the school system of the public-school system has broken down the old-fashioned system of education by which the white people obtained their help, and has introduced an inefficient system, so that a multitude of these people really have no good place to educate their children.

Let me illustrate the state of things: Here is a town or a district that has a thousand dollars, all told, for school purposes; with that thousand dollars that district can establish an insufficient school for three or four months in the year, and an inexperienced teacher, in an insufficient school, and it is put on the list of unsatisfactory to the best people, which can not do the work that should be done. That is the course of things all over the Southern States, in cities, in country, towns, and in the country districts, and the crying want throughout that country is that what these people now have shall be supplemented by enough to put a good school system at once on the ground.

We must remember, gentlemen, that nine men out of ten in the South never saw what we call a good public elementary school. The thing that is necessary is to put for one year, for two years, for three years, in every district through that country a school that will be a fair representative of a public school, that the people can see it; and once having seen it and enjoyed its benefits they never will give it up again. Now, it is utterly impossible for the average school authority to get the money to put such a school on the ground. Give to that man another \$500, another \$1,000, and at once, without wearing himself out with importunity, he can put on the ground the school that the people need; a school that, instead of being a school that satisfied nobody, is a school that satisfies everybody; and once having seen that school for one year, for two years, for five years, for ten years, then the people will be stimulated to great exertions and will never give it up.

Let me illustrate this by one spectacle which I saw which will put you in full possession of the state of the city of Goldsboro, N. C., has about four thousand people. Up to a year ago that city had no school in it which was satisfactory to any portion of the white inhabitants of the city; it had a poor colored school under the county authorities.

Five months ago a surprising number of citizens of that city were able to put into operation a thorough white graded school. By the aid of the Peabody fund they were able to secure an expert for a teacher, so that school took all the children in the town. Four hundred children were put into a good school-house, graded and organized; and the people were put on the ground, and at once it was shown to everybody in that town what could be done with a good school.

I visited that town one day, and it was like going to a town that was under the effect of a religious revival; everybody was in a state of delightful excitement; everybody was going out to see the school; people were coming from all parts of the country to see it, and just because the action of the Peabody fund could come in with his thousand dollars and give to that school the expert which made it what it was. The battle was won, the thing was done, everybody was satisfied, and the whole region around about was being instructed and brought up to that work.

Such schools in country towns mean good schools in the country districts. What we ask of you, gentlemen, is to give to these school authorities everywhere through the South money enough to supplement what they are now doing; so instead of an insufficient school, as they have now, they can put on the ground at once a good school, which will satisfy the people, which will confirm them in their desire to sustain education, and which will give them a fair understanding of the benefits of education.

Now, gentlemen, just one word more and I am done. I fully concur from my observation in all that has been said on several points. First, the South needs this money at once. It is an urgent case. Are you aware, gentlemen, that the average school life, reckoned by months of the average boy east of the Alleghenies, is four years; the average school life of the Western boy, reckoned by months, is three years; the average school life of the white and colored school boy in the South is less than two years; the average school life of the average Southern boy is one year.

This is the turnpike gate through which these children are streaming, and while you are debating and consulting on the feasibility of different methods, generation after generation, you may say, are streaming through. What is to be done should be done at once to meet the great demand of the present.

In the next place, money enough ought to be given to do the work at once. If the roof of your house is on fire and you are obliged to put it out by carrying water in buckets, it does no sort of good to have a ladder that reaches to the second-story window, or on the roof, or on the side of the house, if the ladder you want is a ladder that reaches to the roof, that will take you up where the danger is. The school system of the South to-day does not reach the full magnitude of the difficulty. Give enough at once to enable the school authorities to put a good school on the ground everywhere, and the difficulty is met.

One thing more, gentlemen. I am acquainted with the State superintendent of instruction, I believe, in every Southern State. I am acquainted with the State school board, I think, of every Southern State but two or three. I have studied with great care the records of all those offices their methods of distribution of money. I believe there is no set of men in this country who are handling a moderate amount of money with greater economy, with greater fidelity than these gentlemen. It seems to me to be a great mistake in distributing such funds as you give to put into each of these States, that administration. If that should be done, I believe that at once \$100,000 or \$200,000 of money would be thrown away, virtually, for supervision. I believe there is any set of men in this country that can be trusted to administer a fund of \$10,000,000 or \$15,000,000 for thirteen or fourteen years with fidelity; it is the school authorities of these States, and therefore it seems to me that this money should go directly to the children through the accustomed channels, of course being guarded by all proper safeguards in the central power.

Among the cities of the South, no city has done so much as the city of Charleston. I know all those cities. No city has done so much with so little help as the city of Charleston. We have to-day two representative men with us. We have a mayor of Charleston, who represents what has been done in that city. We have, in another citizen of Charleston, a young gentleman who is a fair representative of the kind of young school men that we must rely on to do this work through the country. If your time and patience will permit, it will give me great pleasure to introduce to you the mayor of Charleston, Mr. William A. Courtenay.

Mayor Courtenay spoke as follows:

Mr. COURTENAY. Mr. Chairman and gentlemen, having in view the great pressure upon your time, I can best show my appreciation of the honor you have done my city by limiting what I have to say to a very brief statement of facts.

I will say that about twenty-five years ago we commenced in Charleston the system of public schools which was then being spread over the country. There were in 1850 four large, substantial brick school buildings of modern construction, calculated to accommodate a hundred pupils each. At that time, in that condition our affairs was ample for the children that were then being educated. One of these buildings was destroyed by the fire of 1861, so that when we resumed our school work in 1865 or 1866 we had three school buildings with an average capacity of eight hundred seats, and we took the Morris street School into our public-school system, which had been erected in 1865, making

the same number of school-houses and about the same number of comfortable sittings. We have made an equal division of those school-houses—two are for white children and colored children—and here is the Morris street school (which is the largest colored school we have) eighteen hundred children packed into accommodations intended for eight hundred.

That is our school situation to-day. We have been for five years levying a small tax, and a new school building will be completed this year which will somewhat relieve the pressure, but we need really two or three more commodious buildings for school purposes, which we shall build in time when we can raise the money.

Now, gentlemen, in addition to the tax which is common all over the State of South Carolina, a taxation equal to that of the State of New York has been levied during these last fifteen years an additional tax of from one to one and a half mills for the purpose of giving accommodations such as we have to give in these very crowded school-houses to a portion of the children of the city. I need not tell you that what we need for accommodations is a school building of about 6,000, and that although there are over 4,000 children crowded into the schools, there are children who can not get a place inside the school-house to stand or sit, and are, therefore, not being educated. We have a very large city debt, and we have a large amount of charities to distribute every year, orphan houses and hospitals; the expenses of the city government are very nearly as much as those of the State; we have reached the limit of taxation; and we look naturally to the United States Government to come to the assistance of the city, the State, the South, and the people generally in illiteracy, and make some provision by which this great trouble can be cured.

I made a rough calculation hastily this morning without the data to make it accurate, but I assert here that the city of Charleston has paid for education over and above the State tax, during the close of the last year, about \$100,000, and five hundred thousand dollars, and we will continue to do the best we can under any circumstances. But in view of the great burdens which are pressing upon us in many ways, because of the want of improvements in our city, and our inability to raise the revenue of the city to meet the necessities of the day, we have 10 per cent. of the whole income—we feel that we can with some confidence come here and express our opinion in common with all other sections of the country for material and important aid.

If the gentlemen of this committee will be kind enough, I should like my friend Mr. Bryan to occupy the remainder of my time.

Mr. Bryan is a young, cultivated, and highly intellectual man, and seemed to be the embodiment of the better time which is to be. His remarks profoundly impressed the committee. He was an eloquent, vigorous young man, I suppose a truly representative man of the rising life of the Southern portion of our country. No man ever made a stronger, more vigorous, and more pathetic appeal for aid or for assistance of any description than did this young gentleman of great ability from Charleston, S. C. Any Senator who will read that and vote against this bill is less of a Senator than I think.

Mr. ORR. Mr. J. P. Kennedy Bryan is a young gentleman who has been referred to, the son of the United States district judge for South Carolina. The CHAIRMAN. He shall be happy to hear Mr. Bryan.

Mr. BRYAN. Mr. Chairman, I would hardly deem it in this presence, with so much gathered wisdom and experience, proper for me to be heard here, were it not that the subject-matter which the committee is now considering is one that appeals and has appealed to me for years, young as I am, and one that is, I think, the first in the history of the young life of the country. I have many times asked the question, the shoulders upon whom it is to fall, are those of the youth of that Southern country, who now wish to control its destinies and who now, for weal or for woe, await the decision here in this Capitol.

If what has been said by my friend Mr. Orr, after what has been said by gentlemen from Massachusetts and from Indiana, after what has been said with regard to the State at large by my friend Colonel Thompson, I need hardly speak; and I would not speak but that I think by giving you a pictorial image of the city of Charleston in its present condition, that concrete thing, I can show you the even municipal aid added to State aid, with all the agencies of private education, in an old community and aid coming from the city that doubles the State aid, still we stand appalled before a tide that we can not meet nor control. It is only because the city is represented by a representative body of the people that we express the conditions of all those States, and in a more favorable way than the country districts, that I will give you the facts and the figures relating to that community, because those facts and figures will bring home the question in its reality and show really what is our necessity and our danger.

That city is more favored because it has in it the seeds of a cultured society; it has in it men of mighty powers from the past, and those men are there, and they think, and they feel, and they see what is upon us. It has in it not only that, but men who have a sense of duty and men who have conscientiously risen to all the burdens of this occasion.

Why, gentlemen, in 1860 the city of Charleston had an educational plan greater than any Southern city. It had a system of public schools in which there were four thousand white children, besides large private schools, which fully met all the demands of that city. To-day it has that same educational plan, and in those schools are four thousand children, two thousand white and two thousand colored. There is an equal division of the school facilities. There is, that the city of Charleston has a State revenue of \$100,000, and the State of South Carolina pays it \$72,000 in a city of 50,000, in which there are 23,000 whites and 27,000 colored, the colored paying 3 per cent. of the tax. After we have raised the local tax, double what the State gives, we find that we only have four thousand children in the city, and we only have a small number of schools that we had in 1850 of whites. More can not enter the schools; they are packed.

Gentlemen, the tax of a citizen of the city of Charleston to-day is 3.5 per cent. on every dollar of real and personal property. The city debt of the city of Charleston requires the very tax at the same amount of the people. We simply ask 1 per cent. levied in that city for the debt of the municipality. Then there is the State debt. With these heavy burdens, by the census and by the report of the superintendent of schools of the city of Boston, we pay on a ratio one-third more than the city of Boston for its whole system of education, its high and its classical. We pay to-day one-third more than the city of Boston does in the face of a debt of five millions upon the city of Charleston.

Gentlemen, when his honor the mayor came to the control of that city in the same spirit of zeal and the same interest that he evoked in the departments, we got at the facts and the figures, and he said it is the duty of the city, simply as a representative city of the South, and on behalf of all, to reveal to the country this terrible and appalling condition to say to them, here is a national calamity, it is a calamity that is common to the people of this country, it is very common in its evils and in its effects. We thought, and the city of Charleston and all the men there think to-day, that the National Government alone can help us—not to do for us, but simply help us in that which we can not do. If the tax goes above 3.5 per cent. it is a dismemberment of society. We simply ask you to hold up our hands; we simply ask you to roll back that tide. Where it will sweep we know not, and I, in all deference, do not think that all the wisdom here can tell us where it will sweep. We ask you, do not let it overwhelm us and you. We thought and were led to believe that that Government which under the power of the Constitution, has the right to provide for the public de-

fense referring to the time of war (for surely that was in the mind of the framers of the instrument) would come to our assistance in this time of calamity.

We were led to believe that that Government which, when the crisis came from the Mississippi Valley under the most awful deluge of the last five decades, sent immediately within a day aid to those people asking relief from the mounds and sent broadsword over the land sower where small-pox or yellow fever struck, would send some relief to a more awful pestilence that is working in the holy-polite. We were led to believe that that Government which, in its beneficence, looking to the general welfare of the negro, sent him bread and salt, sends from this national center good seed in order that the labor of the husbandman may prosper and that he may gather fruit and an abundant harvest; that that same Government, on that same principle of general welfare, would give us not only good seed but good seed to plant in this waste.

Gentlemen, it is only because the city of Charleston furnishes you such an example, it is only because I think we feel it as an old community, and we know what this thing means and what is threatened all the time; it is only because it is representative city in that regard of all our Southern communities that I have said so.

I think, I feel, in fact I know, that it is in the mind and the heart of the assembled representatives here from this land to help. I am sure we have not come and told our simple story in vain. We look forward, and we expect, and we trust that that seed which has been sown will grow and that it will overgrow here in good government, in peace and prosperity years and years to come.

MON. B. G. Northrop, secretary of the board of education for Connecticut, so well known for his life-long and very important services in the cause of education, in placing certain valuable statements before the committee urged an immediate appropriation. I read his remarks because he is a New England man, and a representative man, as truly a representative of the opinions and feelings of educators in that portion of the country as any man can be.

DR. DICKINSON, Mr. Chairman, I now present Hon. B. G. Northrop, secretary of the board of education of the State of Connecticut.

MR. NORTHROP. I desire to lay on your table, Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the committee, a number of extracts from a speech made at Atlanta by ex-Governor Brown on the eve of his election to the Senate, an extract from the speech of Robert C. Winthrop at the Yorktown celebration, and in full a speech of Rev. Dr. Curry, bearing all entirely on this subject. And while I am saying I say that this is not a new measure, but when friends of the measure have pressed it before members of Congress in former years the objection has been "You can not force schools on any community; schools must answer to local public sentiment, and that public sentiment does not exist." That was the former argument. Now I say in addition to the proofs presented by gentlemen from the South as to the interest, you have in that paper, I think, a most remarkable demonstration of the interest taken, by the fact that ex-Governor Brown should make such a speech on the eve of his election, and it is a more remarkable fact that on the basis of that speech advocating this measure, advocating free public schools for all classes, he should be elected to the Senate of the United States by so large a majority. It demonstrates the new era in the South. I think that if the plan of giving \$15,000,000 for this object is carried out it will be worth more than \$20,000,000 will be twenty years hence. The case is urgent; the need is immediate.

I must say that this measure, I am confident, will suit the North as well as the South. I have in this paper I have handed you printed the sentiment expressed by the Connecticut State board of education most heartily, and also other expressions of Northern sentiment; and may I mention in the briefest form one other fact showing the great change that has occurred within the past year? This subject was advocated ably here by our association at its meeting in New York, one year ago, by ex-Senator Patterson, now the superintendent of education in New Hampshire. He advocated then that the money should be distributed by a large number of Federal officers in all the States. That met but one dissent at that meeting, a young man, a member of the majority of the association, who opposed his plan, but one objection. At this meeting every member of the association has expressed his views in favor of the plan of distributing the money through existing local officers. We are a unit on that point.

The resolution of the Connecticut State board of education referred to is as follows:

Resolved, That in view of the necessity of education to the perpetuity of free institutions, and of the great and disproportionate burden which adequate provision for universal education would impose on some of the Southern States, this association expresses its conviction that it is the imperative duty of the National Government to extend to those States in which the burden and the danger of illiteracy are greatest such pecuniary aid as shall enable them to provide that to all the children and youth within their borders shall receive at least an elementary education.

The State board of education has formally expressed "its hearty approval of the sentiments of the above resolution, and its earnest hope that the influence of Connecticut in the National Congress and elsewhere may be exerted in favor of the adoption of some equitable and efficient means for the accomplishment of the end proposed."

The following letter is in reply to one addressed to Colonel Rogers, superintendent of public schools of New Orleans, by myself, in which, mentioning the fact that Dr. Bicknell, one of the most able, active, and earnest advocates of national aid to public schools, had understood him to say that he should not know what to do with a large sum if he had it, and that it might be lost or stolen, I requested him to present his views in full for publication. I ask the Secretary to read his answer. He has given his life to this work in Louisiana.

The Secretary read as follows:

NEW ORLEANS, March 6, 1881.

DEAR SIR: Very favor of the 3d instant is just to hand, and I hasten to reply. My friend Colonel Bicknell has evidently misunderstood me in this matter, national aid for education. Our conversation upon the subject was fragmentary and of a personal character. So far as I can recall the words used by me they had no reference to the main issue, but were incidental to a feature of the subject designed to show the necessity for a cautious, well-regulated, systematic expenditure of a large sum of money in a large city where school attendance was voluntary, and where the object was to bring in the large class of children who are now beyond school influences. I certainly never intended to intimate, directly or indirectly, that if any part of this national aid was to be expended

in Louisiana by our State and city authorities it would, by reason of such form of dishonesty or indeed for any cause, "be wasted or stolen." Officially I can only speak for New Orleans. In twenty-five years past connected with educational work in this city I can not be entirely ignorant of the condition of affairs in other parts of the State.

For several years I have had a growing conviction that if we are to give public education to all classes of our educable population we must have outside aid from some source. I believe that this is the opinion of the great majority of persons who are familiar with the situation. With those who are engaged in educational work I know of no difference of conclusion as to the necessity of aid. You are furnished with the statistics of illiteracy. It is not necessary to repeat them here. They are not mythical. Those who are engaged in the work of education know that illiteracy is a present fact, and that statistics simply record much is done or not done, and how insufficient are the means at our command.

Our school population in New Orleans between 6 and 18 years of age was 61,456 by census of 1880. For the year closing December 31, 1881, the whole number of pupils enrolled in our public schools was 24,401; average daily attendance, 14,866; average roll, 17,427. Our school population, however increased, while school attendance has diminished. For the current year our total enrollment will not exceed 17,000, and our average attendance will fall short of 13,000 pupils, estimating the number of children in private and parochial schools in this city at 10,000, of this number about 12 years of age who are engaged in some industrial pursuit at 10,000—a large estimate—and there are about 36,000 children and young persons of educable years who are not in any school, of whom about 30,000 can not be accounted for as either attending school or industriously employed. We are confronted with the fact that the last year, over 100,000 children as it exists among the young persons in our midst, we are losing ground, and that to an alarming extent, since not only do we not keep pace with the increase in our population, but our school attendance has steadily declined.

The chief causes of this have arisen from the insufficiency of our school revenue. For the proper care and instruction of an average roll of 17,000 children, including cost of supervision, instruction, buildings, supplies, &c., we need an annual expenditure of \$270,000. This implies a session of nine to ten months, necessitating a year system, yet the State and city contribute entire revenue, from all sources, falls short of \$250,000. A constant pressure of financial restriction and curtailment naturally tends to contract the usefulness of the schools. Last year, 1880, our session was reduced from ten to seven months, all teachers having been discharged from service at the schools early during three important school months. For several years past, the teachers have not been paid for two or three months of the year, and have held our school system together by their unrequited labors during that period.

MR. BLAIR, Mr. President, I challenge the history of the world to produce a fact more honorable to humanity than the noble self-devotion of this body of instructors of youth, or more disgraced to a great people than the neglect of both State and nation which rendered their self-sacrifice necessary.

The Secretary read as follows:

Notwithstanding the fact that the city of New Orleans has entered upon a prosperous era, those who control its finances maintain that they are giving much to education as can be spared from the general revenues. I do not propose to question the correctness of their statement or the wisdom of their policy. I only know that we do not get enough, and that those who make the appropriations for their schools, as I know also, do not know the extent of the need of money that our schools are not doing all the work which they might otherwise do, and that more and more children are growing up in ignorance and idleness, with stronger inducements to immorality and vice.

We have between 40,000 and 45,000 colored and colored children in our public schools. They share equally with the white children in the privileges of education. They are instructed by competent teachers, have good buildings, and their condition is as favorable to their progress as any other class of pupils. The city government has been endeavoring for years, to increase the amount appropriated in former years to one race only, and as the colored people pay but a small part of the cost of education, it follows that the colored pupils in the schools are mainly instructed at the expense of the whites, and that the children of the whites are not allowed to have the same allowance to the colored pupils in the same class.

I know of no feeling antagonistic to the education of the negro. On the contrary, there is a growing opinion, so far as I am judge, in favor of extending to that class of our people the fullest and fairest opportunities. The kindly spirit which characterizes the relation of the two races in this city and State extends to all of our schools. There are no contentions or animosities. Teachers of equal grade are sent sometimes to the schools for colored pupils, or, again, to the whites, and I know of no hardship to which the colored pupils are exposed, by means of insufficient funds, in which the whites do not equally share.

We certainly do need aid for public education in the city of New Orleans, and if we had the money we could make good use of it. I believe if its distribution was intrusted to our State and city authorities it would be wisely expended for the equal benefit of all classes and conditions of our school population.

The present system could be strengthened and enlarged. Additional schools could be opened in portions of the city where they are much needed. The city school board has had before it for some time past applications from remote sections of the city asking for public buildings and privileges for the colored race. I know of no feeling antagonistic to the education of the negro. On the contrary, there is a growing opinion, so far as I am judge, in favor of extending to that class of our people the fullest and fairest opportunities. The kindly spirit which characterizes the relation of the two races in this city and State extends to all of our schools. There are no contentions or animosities. Teachers of equal grade are sent sometimes to the schools for colored pupils, or, again, to the whites, and I know of no hardship to which the colored pupils are exposed, by means of insufficient funds, in which the whites do not equally share.

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So far as the condition of public education in Louisiana, outside of New Orleans, is concerned, it seems to me of even greater importance that we should have outside assistance if we propose to make any advance in overtaking illiteracy. The total school population of the State is 1,000,000. This would give an average of \$1.00 per child. Under the act of March 1st, 1880, the attendance in all the public schools of the State, including the parish and city of Orleans, in 1880, was: Whites, 31,642; colored, 22,670; total, 54,312, or about 20 per cent, of the school population. Outside of Orleans, there were, in 57 parishes, there were 89 schools, 16,224 white children and 17,075 colored children. The average salary of teachers was \$25.62 per month. Six parishes reported, "No schools for want of funds." Nineteen parish boards report a session of 3 months or less. The aggregate of all months reported from all the parishes was 148.

For last year, 1880, there was a decrease in the number of colored pupils. The last Legislature, 1882 (we have biennial sessions), appropriated one mill on the dollar for public education. Upon an assessed valuation of the property of the State of \$20,000,000, this would give all valuation. Under the act of March 1st, 1880, the attendance in all the public schools of the State, including the parish and city of Orleans, in 1880, was: Whites, 31,642; colored, 22,670; total, 54,312, or about 20 per cent, of the school population. Outside of Orleans, there were, in 57 parishes, there were 89 schools, 16,224 white children and 17,075 colored children. The average salary of teachers was \$25.62 per month. Six parishes reported, "No schools for want of funds." Nineteen parish boards report a session of 3 months or less. The aggregate of all months reported from all the parishes was 148.

capita on school population. The amount is too small, and we are looking to the next session of the Legislature. May next, for a more liberal policy.

Nevertheless, we are not confident of any very great increase in our school appropriations. A constitutional amendment, to be voted by the people, may be necessary before there can be a more liberal system for the State. The power to impose a local tax for education must be conferred upon parish authorities. At best the relief must be partial. The relations of the capital and population of the two races are such that a system of public instruction which is intended to benefit the whole of the entire colored population, and which shall be sustained by a revenue derived from the property of the State, is beyond all present possibilities. Such a tax could never be imposed with the consent of the people. It could not be collected, if authorized, without breaking down every industry, and virtually crushing the property of the planter and merchant in the State. To give six months' instruction to 200,000 young persons in the primary branches of a common-school education would require 5,000 teachers and an expenditure of a million dollars.

The friends of education do not contemplate a scheme so impracticable. We know that time and patient effort are needed to build up any great enterprise. We think that it is possible to strengthen and enlarge our present system of public instruction, so that it may be put in the way of ultimately accomplishing the great objects which it contemplates.

What would national aid do for Louisiana?

It would enable parish school boards to open schools where there are none now for want of funds. It would prolong the session of schools which are now kept open for one, two, or three months only. It would draw large numbers of children from idleness and ignorance to the school buildings, and it would enable school boards and other authorities to employ trained, competent teachers, who should be paid reasonable salaries with a regularity and promptness which secure cheerful and successful services.

In rural parishes the services of young persons over 12 years of age are useful to the planter during several months of the year. From four to six months may be devoted to systematic school work, and if this should be continued only four or five years the seeds of a better life would be planted, and important results would follow to the individual, to society, and to the country. In a well-conducted school there may be acquired, by the average child, white or colored, during the period named, ability to read and write; to understand and perform the ordinary examples of arithmetic needed in common business transactions; to know something of the geography and history of the country; to acquire habits of order and industry; to distinguish between right and wrong in the duties of life, with such moral lessons as grow out of every well-regulated school-room.

When opportunities for securing these results are within the reach of all classes—the poorest and lowest, as well as of the children of the more favored classes—we may reasonably expect a useful, honorable, and an intelligent citizenry.

Without education, we have unskilled labor, a discontented class of society, thriftless, heedless, with brutal passions and degrading vices, ready, when roused by fanaticism or demagogism, to hurl against the peace of society or the best institutions of the country a compact and powerful voting minority which already holds the balance of power between the two great political parties of the country.

At no period in the history of Louisiana has there been manifested a greater interest in the subject of education than at the present time. This, I believe, is generally conceded by the legal public men of the State. The subject can be largely into the present political canvass. An educational society has been formed in New Orleans, which already has a large membership of leading merchants and representatives of all trades and professions. Branch organizations have been established throughout the State. The fundamental principle of the society is free public education to all classes of children without distinction of race. We hope, by means of aroused public sentiment, to secure for public schools their full share of the resources of the State, but I imagine that the most sanguine friend of public education can not hope to materially change the figures of illiteracy, now resting upon the good name and well-being of the State, without the use of more abundant means than can be now drawn from the government or the people of Louisiana in the present condition of public and private affairs.

Asking to be excused for the length of this communication, I remain, dear sir, Yours, respectfully,

WILLIAM O. ROGERS,
Superintendent Public Schools New Orleans.

Hon. H. W. BLAIR,
United States Senate.

Mr. BLAIR. On Saturday, February 16, 1884, a joint session of the Senate and House committees having in charge the subject of national aid to schools was held in the room of the Senate Committee on Education and Labor.

Dr. Orr and a committee of the superintendents of public instruction of the States, Dr. Thomas W. Bicknell, president of the National Educational Association; Professor Painter, and others, composing a committee of the department of superintendence of the National Educational Association, were present, and addressed the committee for four hours.

The proceedings are published in Senate Miscellaneous Document No. 55, Forty-eighth Congress.

I respectfully refer the Senate to these addresses voicing the universal sentiment of all parts of the country, and coming from some of our ablest, best-informed, unselfish, and patriotic men, whose express business it is to know whereof they speak, deploring this all-pervading national evil of popular ignorance, demonstrating the necessity of national aid, and beseeching, not to say demanding, as our first duty, its bestowment as the only adequate source of relief. It is impossible to attempt even a synopsis here of what they said.

Permit me here to add the memorial of the American Social Science Association, than which the opinion of no body of men whatever is more entitled to respect by the American Congress or the American people.

AMERICAN SOCIAL SCIENCE ASSOCIATION,
Boston, December 28, 1882.

To the Senate and House of Representatives in Congress assembled:

The American Social Science Association, impressed with the danger involved in the existence of a large number of illiterate voters in the population of this country, as revealed in the last census, for the proper enlightenment of which class of voters many of the most important measures of legislation are proposed, and believing that a Government resting on the suffrage of the majority of the people can not preserve itself from corrupt influence nor secure a high degree of civil

freedom unless education is generally diffused among all classes of voters; and further believing it to be within the constitutional power of Congress to provide in this manner for the safety of the Republic, and that the enfranchisement of the freedmen imposes an especial obligation upon the Government to qualify them for safe discharge of the new duties devolved upon them, would earnestly pray that your honorable body will take prompt and efficient measures to avert these dangers; that money raised from such sources as your honorable body may in its wisdom deem best shall be distributed, for a limited period, to the States and Territories, and that the States and Territories, in turn, shall be required, and in such manner as shall not supersede nor interfere with local efforts, but rather stimulate the same and render them more efficient; said moneys to be distributed under such guarantees as shall secure their application to the object herein named, and that the classes of colored citizens who are now illiterate shall be benefited.

Prepared by order of the American Social Science Association by the council of the Association.

FRANCIS WAYLAND, President.

Attest:

F. B. SANBORN, Secretary.

These petitions are not gotten up in the way that petitions are gotten up for a new highway. They are signed by men whose signatures are meant to indicate responsibility.

Rev. Dr. Curry, the general agent of the trustees of the Peabody fund, whose services to the country in the discharge of a great trust have already fixed his rank high among its benefactors, has addressed a memorial to the Congress, which I take this means of placing more conspicuously before the Senate and the public. I am at a loss to comprehend the motives which can refuse the necessary assistance to educate the classes for whom Dr. Curry, in his representative and personal capacity, makes this argument and appeal. I ask the Secretary to read it.

The Secretary read as follows:

To the honorable the Senate and House of Representatives
of the United States in Congress assembled:

Your petitioner, the general agent of the Peabody education fund, would respectfully represent:

That in March, 1880, the trustees of the Peabody education fund submitted a memorial to Congress on "the vital necessity of national aid for the education of the colored population of the Southern States, and especially of the great masses of colored children, who are growing up to be voters under the Constitution of the United States." They accompanied their memorial by a report which had been prepared by a committee of their body, consisting of Hon. Alexander H. H. Stuart, of Virginia, Chief-Justice Morrison R. Waite, of Ohio, and Hon. William M. Everts, of New York. The attention of Congress is invited anew to that very able and concise paper. Since the presentation of that memorial the subject of national aid has assumed larger proportions in the public mind and in the public conscience.

The census of 1880 exposes a fearful amount of illiteracy in the United States. As might have been expected, for an obvious reason, that illiteracy exists largely, disproportionately, in the lately slaveholding States. In *ante bellum* days the negroes were not educated. Since the abolition of slavery—a fact which no sane man would undo—the South, although making patriotic and self-sacrificing efforts in that direction, has failed, as all familiar with her pecuniary condition could have foreseen, to provide universal education for her people. The history of our country, prolific in instances of exalted patriotism and ready adaptation to national exigencies, furnishes no exhibition of these virtues superior to the attempt of the Southern States to meet the unfamiliar and difficult, but cheerfully assumed, obligation of giving rudimentary instruction to all classes, irrespective "of race, color, or previous condition of servitude." The history of the United States is a chapter of peculiar interest in the general history of our institutions and civilization. The credit due to an impoverished people, bravely struggling to do their part in the new and strange environments, is shared by religious bodies and individual citizens of the North, who, comprehending the needs of the young, have generously and liberally contributed money to supply them with the means of education. Hard experience has demonstrated the inability of the Southern States, unaided, to sustain the heavy burden of universal education. If illiteracy is to be removed, or prevented in the future, the States must receive liberal and prompt aid from the General Government.

This aid should be rendered in co-operation with the school systems of the States. Those systems, varying in details, but generally copied from the systems which exist in the Northern States, are the outgrowth of the convictions of the people. Year by year they are being adapted to the wants and peculiarities of communities and States. Constitutions command free schools; statutes establish and provide for them; State and local officers administer; State revenues are increasingly supplemented by local taxation. No organized opposition to public schools can be found; political parties are zealous to declare their purpose to sustain and perfect; press associations approve and newspapers give their valuable support; Legislatures invite educators and advocates of free schools to address them; the people are willing and ready to contribute money to adopt improved methods of instruction and school management. With probably the most extensive acquaintance with school officers in the South possessed by any man in the Union, acquired by personal intercourse with them, I make bold to affirm that the needs of the Southern States are more fully understood by patriotic, more trustworthy, more enlightened administrators. What is needed for success in making education universal is not severe Federal supervision, subordination of State schools to central authority, but a well-guarded and adequate appropriation of money.

Of the extent of the illiteracy your honorable bodies, having ready access to the latest census returns and to careful compilations of school statistics, need not be informed. On the dangers of this illiteracy it would be superfluous to enlarge. The Government of the United States is a government of the people. Free government presupposes intelligent self-government. The mere possession of power by the people is no assurance or guarantee of good government. Civil government can dispense with arbitrary restraints and with physical power; it can allow the peaceful enjoyment of personal liberty just in so far as the citizens impose, voluntarily and intelligently, restraints upon themselves. Free governments, governments of the people and by the people, allowing and securing the largest measure of individual freedom, are compatible only with popular education. It is to be hoped for free government or republican institutions apart from free schools.

From the act of the Continental Congress on the 20th of May, 1787, for the disposition of the lands ceded by Virginia and the other States, to the present time the United States is committed to the principle that "popular education is the only safe and stable basis for popular liberty" and to the policy of using Government property in aid of public schools. What was a privilege and duty in the past has now become an imperative obligation. The general argument for Congressional intervention to remove or prevent illiteracy becomes stronger when applied to the negroes. As is stated in the report to which attention has been called, the production of the pen of an honored and venerable statesman of Vir-

gina, they are an "exceptional class of our population," and as such have peculiar claims on the justice and bounty of the Federal Government.

Their ancestors did not come voluntarily to this country seeking to better their condition, as come the immigrants who by thousands are now flocking to our shores. They were brought forcibly as slaves and were held as such prior to the Revolution by the convenience and direct action of the mother country and under the authority of the laws of this State. When the war for independence ceased slavery existed in all the Colonies. The Federal Constitution sanctioned the institution. In the exercise of its discretion the Federal Government emancipated the slaves, elevated them to the dignity of American citizens, and invested them with the right of suffrage. "Slavery is but half abolished, emancipation is but half completed, while millions of freedmen with votes in their hands are left without education." The new citizens need to be made to comprehend the duties of citizenship, to be taught the nature and benefits of the political rights they enjoy. "The mass of ignorant and uneducated slaves on the part of the Government a resulting obligation to secure to these suddenly exalted to citizenship and suffrage that amount of education which is necessary to enable them to discharge intelligently the new duties devolved.

In our times *leges sedit* is recognized in times of extreme peril a legal maxim. When the national life is endangered the Constitution yields to a liberal interpretation. The latitude is not because of war, but because of the crisis which war sometimes creates. If the necessity be as great, the peril as imminent in the time of peace as in time of war, then with equal reason may be invoked the principle, *salus populi est suprema lex*. That masses of ignorant voters constitute a national peril, justifying a resort to the "extreme medicine of the Constitution," it would be an insult to your honorable bodies to argue.

The evils of the mass voting can not be exaggerated. In the hands of presidents in succession, with increasing emphasis, have invited the attention of Congress to legislation on the subject. State Legislatures, educational conventions, religious assemblages, public press, and private citizens swell the demand for immediate and effective measures of relief.

It seems that each generation must pass through its own trials, as each people must be disciplined for his own improvement and growth. We reap the fruits of the sacrifices and achievements of our ancestors, but for ourselves we must endure trials and undergo responsibilities. Our Republic is a holy trust. Much as our fathers did, none the less are we required to do. Free institutions are still an experiment. They are on trial before the world. No peril is greater, more insidious, more pervasive, arouses more the apprehension of the patriot, than the illiteracy of citizens. Fortunately the evil is remediable, and the remedy is in your hands.

Your petitioner earnestly invokes your intelligent and continuous attention to the dangers which come from so much illiteracy, and trusts that action, prompt and adequate to meet the emergency, will be had before your adjournment.

J. L. M. CURRY.

RICHMOND, Va., May 17, 1882.

MR. FLAIR. I may add as a recent expression from Dr. Curry, the agent of the Peabody fund, what he says in a letter:

A letter before me from one of the best scholars and most active school men in the South says: "The argument is unanswerable. Here we stand face to face with the necessity. All over this State the taxes of the white people can not be made to suffice for the education of both white and colored; with the utmost good-will, the resources are deficient. Nothing but national aid can solve the problem, and without it there is great danger that the effort may be abandoned in despair."

That last sentence is unspokenly important. If this Congress adjourns without the aid, I shall almost surrender hope in reference to the future of our country. May God save our land.

The Union League Club of New York city comprises over sixteen hundred of the leading citizens of the United States, residing in all parts of the country. Probably no body of men, unless it were the several loyal sovereign States, did so much as the Union League Club of New York to preserve the Union in time of war, or since the war has done so much to make it worth again preserving by their wise and patriotic endeavors to reconstruct the Government upon principles which are indispensable to its prosperity. I therefore introduce the following from their memorial to Congress, presented to us by Senator MILLER:

THE UNION LEAGUE CLUB, NEW YORK, February 10, 1882.

DEAR SIR: The following report was accepted and the appended resolution unanimously adopted at a regular meeting of the Union League Club, held on the 9th of February, 1882.

We request you to present them to Congress, as being the respectful petition of this club.

Very few subjects equal in importance that of elevating the illiterate voters in the United States to the condition required for the proper enjoyment and protection of universal suffrage.

It appears from the census of 1880 that of the total colored population over 47 per cent. are unable to write. Of the total white population nearly 7 per cent. are unable to write. These percentages are much higher in the South. Those unable to write in Alabama are, whites, nearly 17 per cent.; colored, over 53. In Georgia, whites, nearly 16 per cent.; colored, nearly 40. In North Carolina, whites, over 22 per cent.; colored, over 51. In New Mexico, whites, 49.5 per cent.; colored, 69.5. In many of the States the means for instruction are confessedly insufficient to cope with this great evil.

The want of education, and of consequent ability to use the suffrage so as to protect the voter from fraud, violence, and misdirection, and our institutions from peril, have caused the introduction into the Senate of the United States of a bill entitled, "A bill to aid in the establishment and temporary support of common schools."

The Secretary of the Interior, through the Bureau of Education, is charged with the administration of the act, aided by a commissioner in each State, to be appointed by the President by and with the advice and consent of the Senate. The commissioner thus appointed is to act in co-operation with the State authorities in which he is located. In Territories this commissioner is charged with the general supervision and control of public education.

All payments under the act are to be made by Treasury warrants directly to the person in each State or Territory who renders service, on vouchers to be approved by the local authorities, the commissioner, and the Secretary of the Interior.

It will be seen, therefore, that the amount payable in any State or Territory can neither be diverted nor squandered, but that the careful provision is made for the application of it directly to the purposes of education. The bill is comprehensive as well as guarded, and is to continue only for the length of time supposed to be required for stimulating the most sluggish of the States into the requisite activity.

The condition of the Treasury, with a large annual surplus, tempting to useless schemes of extravagance, would seem to be a favorable time for the adoption of a measure to secure the enlightenment of the uneducated and the safety of our republican form of government.

The Constitution, in express terms, provides, section 4, article 4, that "The United States shall guarantee to each State in this Union a republican form of government." The powers necessary to carry out this guarantee are implied and are therefore complete. But the act of the National Government a large body of illiterate men have been suddenly raised from the condition of chattels into that of freemen and voters, without any preparation for the high duty which admission to the suffrage involves. The extraordinary measures resorted to in States where the danger from this source is most conspicuous, often leading to bloodshed and anarchy, would seem to impose on the General Government the immediate duty of seeing that the republican form thus threatened by the two evils of illiteracy and violence *shall be preserved*. The necessary and proper means for this end in such a wide diffusion of the benefits of the blessings of education as will secure the requisite intelligence and patriotism.

The committee of political reform recommended the following resolution.

GEO. B. BUTLER, Chairman.
S. M. BLATCHFORD, Secretary.

Resolved, That the Union League Club heartily approves of the scope and object of the bill introduced into the Senate of the United States by the Hon. HENRY W. BLAIR, of the State of New Hampshire, entitled, "A bill to aid in the establishment and temporary support of common schools," and that the president and secretary of the club be directed to allix their names to this report and resolution as being the respectful petition of the club to the Congress of the United States in favor of the passage of the bill.

We have the honor to be, very respectfully,

WM. M. EVARTS, President.
DAVID MILLIKEN, Jr., Secretary.

To the Hon. WARNER MILLER.

I wish to say, as bearing upon the expression of popular feeling and opinion on this subject, that I have here a large number of data of memorials which themselves are so large that, if all printed, I suppose the world would not contain the books they would make, as was said on another occasion. It seems almost trifling with the time of the Senate to accumulate this mass of evidence of popular feeling to be inserted in the RECORD. It is here, and it is ready to be produced if anybody should ever conceive the thought that there is no expression of the general popular, and that the best popular, sentiment on this subject.

The following is an imperfect list of the petitions and memorials praying for aid for the common schools on the basis of illiteracy:

Citizens of Romney, W. Va.
One hundred citizens of Circleville, W. Va.
Citizens of Jackson County, West Virginia.
Citizens of Nicholas County, West Virginia.
Citizens of Webster County, West Virginia.
Resolutions of the Legislature of Rhode Island.
Citizens of Ottawa, Ind.
Citizens of Spring Hill, Kans.
Citizens of Monro Valley, Kans.
Citizens of Jefferson County, West Virginia.
Citizens of Lewis County, West Virginia.
Citizens of Wayne County, West Virginia.
Citizens of Monongalia County, West Virginia.
Citizens of Jackson County, West Virginia.
Citizens of Upshur County, West Virginia.
Citizens of Mason County, West Virginia.
Citizens of Morgan County, West Virginia.
Telegram from the Saratoga educational convention.
Citizens of Blount County, Alabama.
Citizens of Tuscaloosa County, Alabama.
Citizens of Baldwin County, Alabama.
Citizens of Colbert County, Alabama.
Citizens of Fayette County, Alabama.
Citizens of Fayette County, Alabama.
Citizens of Fayette County, Alabama.
Citizens of Fayette County, Alabama.
President of the board of education and many prominent citizens of Nashua, N. H.

Memorial of the National Educational Association.
Memorial of the State officers and nearly every prominent citizen in the State of South Carolina.

Petitions of citizens of Louisiana.
Petition of citizens of Wilkinson County, Mississippi.
State board of visitors of the State Agricultural College, New Jersey.
State board of visitors of Rutgers College, New Jersey.
Citizens of Edgecombe County, North Carolina.
Citizens of Drew County, Arkansas.
Citizens of Fayette County, Virginia.
Citizens of Gilmer County, Georgia.
Citizens of Franklin County, Ohio.
Citizens of Keyser, W. Va.
Faculty of Hiram College, Ohio.
Citizens of Medina County, Ohio.
Governor and all the State officials of Ohio.
Mayor and city officials of Portsmouth, N. H.
Citizens of Grafton County, New Hampshire.
Citizens of New London, N. H.
Prominent citizens of Rockingham County, New Hampshire, three petitions.
Petition of President of Johns Hopkins University et al.
Memorial of the American Science Association.
Citizens of Merrimack County, New Hampshire.
Petition of the faculty of State University, of Louisiana.
Petition of the citizens of Iowa.
Resolutions of the Louisiana Legislature.
Memorial of the Union League Club, New York.
Petition of citizens of Susquehanna County, Pennsylvania.
Petition of citizens of Saint Louis, Mo.
Petition of citizens of Monroe City, Ill.
Resolutions of Teachers' Institute of South Carolina.

I have collected citations from high authorities, and historical illustrations, bearing upon the necessity of education, especially in a republic. They are from authors of other nations as well as our own. Many of them are of high literary merit. They are good reading. I will read a few of them. Before proceeding to do so, I wish to make one statement as bearing on the interests of education in our Southern States by reason of the liberation of the colored people. The historical example nearest our shores, that of the liberation of the blacks in

the British West India colonies, might well be added, and should be instructive to us. There the British Government, more considerate, perhaps, than our own, gave pecuniary compensation to the extent of about \$10,000,000, if I remember correctly, to the owners of the emancipated slaves. No provision, however, was made for the education and the elevation of the colored people. They have had freedom so far as it could exist under the British constitution, and they have had degeneracy and demoralization accompanying it. Without wasting time to depict the causes of the social condition and industrial condition of those people, I will state one fact which is significant of almost everything else that could be said, that such is the social degradation of that people that most social ties are disregarded, poverty is universal, and over 60 per cent. of the annual increase of the population is illegitimate. Let me quote from the American Cyclopaedia, volume 15, page 17:

The government measure was brought forward April 23, 1833. It proposed an apprenticeship of twelve years for the slaves, and to pay out of their earnings to the masters the sum of \$15,000,000. The friends of emancipation remonstrated against these features of the plan, and it was finally modified by a reduction of the term of apprenticeship to six years, and a provision to pay the masters \$20,000,000 out of the national treasury. The bill passed the house of commons August 7, the house of lords August 20, and received the royal assent August 28, 1833. The day fixed for emancipation was August 1, 1834, and it was left optional with the local legislatures respectively to adopt or reject the system of apprenticeship. Antigua and Bermuda rejected, while the other islands adopted, the system. The apprenticeship system did not work well.

It ought to be known and is known that like causes produce like effects. It is well known to those who have taken pains to be informed by evidence coming to them, though they may never have been in the Southern States themselves, and I have some personal observation that has instructed me, so that I am convinced of the fact, that the general condition of the colored population in very much the larger geographic proportion of the South is growing worse rather than better. The colored population when disciplined by their former legal status were much more industriously inclined than the youthful colored population that is now growing up. The colored youths now are not so quiet and good-natured and easily managed and tractable a race of men as the Northern people are inclined to think. I believe that they are rapidly becoming demoralized, an idle, thriftless population, with a tendency to violence, and likely to become a source of as much danger to the United States as a population like this described in Jamaica can be. They increase much more rapidly from natural causes than does the white population.

By the last census it is shown that they increase 7 per cent. more rapidly than does the white population of the whole country from immigration and births combined. While increasing in numbers, in my belief they are not improving in condition. In twenty-five years from now this Southern colored population, unless something is done to restrain, improve, and elevate them, are quite likely to be a source of violence and of turmoil in this country. Those who think otherwise, I imagine, will find themselves profoundly mistaken, and it is well enough to be instructed by historical examples when they exist.

I can not take the time of the Senate a great length in reading the citations from eminent men which I have made; but I will read a few in regard to national education. Macaulay in his speech on education uses this language:

NATIONAL EDUCATION.

This, then, is my argument. It is the duty of government to protect our persons and property from danger. The gross ignorance of the common people is a principal cause of danger to our persons and property. Therefore it is the duty of the government to take care that the common people shall not be grossly ignorant.—*Macaulay's Speech on Education.*

The education of the people is not only a means, but the best means, of obtaining that which all allow to be a chief end of government.—*Ibid.*

Another great authority says:

When we see government measures, which are excellent in themselves, fail from the opposition of an ignorant people, we at first feel irritated against the senseless multitude; but when we come to reflect, when we observe that this opposition has been easily foreseen, and that the government, in proud exercise of authority, has taken no steps to prepare the minds of the people, to dissipate their prejudices, to conciliate their confidence—our indignation is transferred from the ignorant and deceived people to its disdainful leaders.—*Jeremy Bentham's Works*, volume 1, page 568.

Let me give further citations:

Ignorance causes poverty.

By diminishing productive capacity, and therefore wealth.

Intelligence is a most powerful factor in industrial efficiency. The intelligent is more useful than the unintelligent laborer: (a) Because he requires a far smaller apprenticeship. * * * (b) Because he can do his work with little or no superintendence. * * * (c) Because he is less wasteful of materials. * * * (d) Because he readily learns to use machinery, however delicate or intricate.—*Walker's Political Economy*, pages 52, 53.

By hindering improvement.

In some parts of the country the ignorance of the people of almost everything beyond their butts and potatoes and pigs, their entire lack of practical sense and judgment, and of the energy and progressive spirit which advancement in education is apt to bring, has hitherto been one of the greatest hindrances to the progress of the country. With this ignorance there has often been coupled superstition, and a tendency to indolence, increasing poverty, distress, and discontent.—*The Irish Question*, by King, pages 253, 254.

II. Ignorance causes poverty.

Illustration from Scotland and Ireland in 1800-'10:

I am persuaded that the extreme profligacy, improvidence, and misery which are so prevalent among the laboring classes in many countries are chiefly to be

ascribed to the want of education. In proof of this we need only cast our eyes on the condition of the Irish, compared with that of the peasantry in Scotland. Among the former you behold nothing but beggary, wretchedness, and sloth; in Scotland, on the contrary, under the disadvantages of a worse climate and more unproductive soil, a degree of decency and comfort, the fruit of sobriety and industry, are conspicuous among the lower classes. And to what is this disparity in the situation to be ascribed, except to the influence of education? In Ireland the education of the poor is miserably neglected; very few of them can read, and they grow up in a total ignorance of what it most befits a rational creature to understand; while in Scotland the establishment of free schools in every parish, an essential branch of the ecclesiastical constitution of the country, brings the means of instruction within the reach of the poorest, who are there insured to decency, industry, and order.—*Robert Hall's Works*, I, 201, 202. (1810.)

II. Ignorance causes demoralization.

Illustration from Rome:

But we must look beyond the political institutions of Rome, and seek in her social condition the primary causes of the fall of the republic. * * * There was no union of the different classes of society in common interests and sympathies, nor any adequate gradation of classes to balance their relative forces. Without a middle class, industrious, orderly, progressive, and contented, society was broadly into the rich and the poor. And in the later days of the republic both were corrupted. The rich became more covetous and grasping. * * *

The poorer classes were no less demoralized as citizens and depositaries of political power. Enamored by bounties of grain; corrupted by bribery; debased by barbarous and brutal entertainments; tainted with the vices of slavery; without regulated industry; disunited by the confusion of many nationalities; and unsettled by incessant wars and revolutions, they were waiting in all the elements of a social disaster.—*May's Democracy in Europe*, I, pages 225, 226, 227.

Illustration from France:

The peasants, suffering from want and resenting the oppression of the feudal lords, rose in great numbers in different parts of France. In 1533, they burned many castles, murdered the owners, and committed the most frightful outrages upon women and children. * * * and in later times the like passions were to be revealed in excess no less monstrous and unnatural.—*May's Democracy in Europe*, II, pages 91, 92. See also, *Taine's Ancient Regime*, pages 374-393.

II. 4. Poverty causes demoralization.

Illustration from Rome.

The mind itself can scarcely comprehend the wide range of the mischief—how constant poverty and insult long endured, as the natural portion of a degraded class, bear with them horrors something yet worse than pain, a weakness of the body or the feelings; how they dull the understanding and poison the morals; how ignorance and ill-treatment combined are the parents of universal suspicion; how from oppression is produced habitual cowardice, breaking out upon occasion into desperate violence; how cruelty, however atrocious, how they, whose condition denies them all noble enjoyments, and to whom looking forward is only despair, plunge themselves, with a brute's recklessness, into the lowest sensual pleasures; how the domestic circle itself, the last sanctuary of human virtue, becomes at length corrupted, and in the place of natural affection and parental care, there is to be seen only selfishness and unkindness, and no other anxiety on the part of parents for their children than that they may, by fraud or by violence, prey in their turn upon that society which they have found their bitter enemy. Evils like these long working in the heart of a nation render their own cure impossible; a revolution may execute judgment on one generation, and that perhaps the very one which was beginning to see and to repent of its inherited sins; but it can not restore life to the morally dead; and if it still succeeds, as if in this line of evils no course but the wanting is pleaded by other oppressors as a defense of their own iniquity and a reason for perpetuating it forever.—*Arnold's Rome*, volume II, page 19.

Illustration from the No-Popery Riots of 1780:

I do not know that I could find in all history a stronger proof [than the No-Popery Riots of 1780] of the proposition that the ignorance of the common people makes the property, the limbs, the lives of all classes insecure. Without the shadow of a grievance, at the summons of a madman, a hundred thousand people rise in insurrection, and in a whole week there is anarchy in the greatest and wealthiest of European cities, &c.

The cause was the ignorance of a population which had been suffered, in the neighborhood of palaces, theatres, temples, to grow up as rude and stupid as any of the tattooed cannibals in New Zealand—I might say as any drove of beasts in Smithfield market.—*Macaulay's Speech on Education.*

II c. A discouraged person is useless and may become desperate.

His industrial power is small.

A fifth reason for the higher efficiency of the laborers of one class or nation than of another is found in greater cheerfulness and hopefulness, growing out of their self-respect and social ambition and a more direct and certain interest in the product of industry.—*Walker's Political Economy*, page 54.

Fear is far less potent than hope in evoking the energies of mind or body, and the effect of the influence of the former passion is far more exhausting than those made under the influence of the latter.—*Ibid.*

Discouragement may result in desperation [French revolution].

The feeling of hatred [in the French peasant at the time of the revolution, 1791] was become too strong to be appeased, because here too it was mixed with intense suspicion, the result inevitably of suffering and ignorance, and nothing but the overthrow of those against whom it was directed could have satisfied it.—*Arnold's Lectures on Modern History*, page 390.

III. Ignorance causes immorality.

Because its opposite, knowledge, elevates.

But to return to the moral good which results from the acquisition of knowledge; it is chiefly by this, by multiplying the means and raising it to a standard to exalt the character, and by some measure to correct and subdue the taste for gross sensuality.—*Hall's Works*, I, 200.

Results of ignorance.

Where education has been entirely neglected, or improperly managed, we see the worst passions ruling with uncontrolled and incessant sway. Good sense degenerates into craft, and anger rankles into malignity. Restraint, which is thought most salutary, comes too late, and the most judicious admonitions are urged in vain.—*Dr. A. Farr.*

III. Ignorance causes immorality.

Ignorance vs. Education in Switzerland.

Neither in Switzerland nor in other countries do we find ignorance and poverty united with high moral qualities. In some of the cantons, however, where education is diffused, and industry and commerce have become sources of wealth, the people are contented and happy.—*Dean's History of Civilization*, VI, 108, 109.

Injuries from ignorance.

The laboring class, for instance, will have no mobility [if uneducated], will be in the power of the employer, will have no hope of bettering its condition of life by change of place, will be given to low pleasures. Crime and ignorance go together, and the prospect for the children of such a class is dark indeed. For the industry, morals, loyalty, and quiet of this class, for the safety of all classes some kind of education is necessary.—*Woolsey's Political Science*, I, page 227.

III. 2. Immorality causes degeneration. National degeneration comes from loss of character.

But this political ruin [of the Roman Empire] was an effect of a moral ruin, not a first cause; and a nation that has lost its character must decay politically until some new condition of the world quickens it again into life.—*Woolsey's Political Science*, II, page 601.

Fruits of long-continued moral advance.

There are certain moral fruits so conspicuous in the history of civilization that no pessimist can dispute them. The long, slow movements of society which have been tending with steady purpose and sure result to establish order and the reign of equal laws; to extinguish slavery; to break oppression of every form; to mitigate the barbarities of war, and to put restraints upon it; to diminish human suffering; to help the unfortunate; to lift the debased; to cultivate the cosmopolitan sentiment and the spirit of co-operation among men—that the movements which bear this ripening fruitage are moral movements, it is impossible to deny.—*N. Earnest in Popular Science Monthly*, XI, 549.

IV. Ignorance causes error in judgment and conduct.

By opening the people to evil influences.

Nothing in reality renders legitimate governments so insecure as extreme ignorance in the people. It is this which yields them an easy prey to seduction, makes them the victims of prejudices and false alarms, and so forecloses within that their interference in a time of public commotion is more to be dreaded than the eruption of a volcano.—*Robert Hall's Works*, volume I, page 203.

By deceiving him as to his interest in his neighbor.

The less instructed a man is the more he is led to separate his interests from those of his fellows. The more enlightened he is the more distinctly will he perceive the union of his personal with the general interest.—*Jeremy Bentham's Works*, of volume I, page 537.

ILLUSTRATIONS OF BENEFITS FROM EDUCATION.

Athenian intelligence.

Milford was right enough when he assumed that an English council meeting reached the very height of political ignorance, only he should not have then leaped to a similar conclusion as to the assembled people of Athens. We suspect that the average Athenian citizen was, in political intelligence, above the average English member of Parliament. It was this concentration of all power in an aggregate of which every citizen formed a part which is the distinguishing characteristic of true Greek democracy.—*Freeman's Athenian Democracy*, pages 146, 147.

The education of a lower class in Turkey.

In the vigorous age of the Ottoman Government the Turks were themselves excluded from all civil and military honors, and a servile class, an artificial people, was raised by the discipline of education to obey, to conquer, and to command.—*Gibbon's Rome*, chapter LXV.

Scotland vs. Ireland.

We have two nations closely connected, inhabiting the same island, sprung from the same blood, speaking the same language, governed by the same sovereign and the same legislature, holding essentially the same religious faith, having the same allies and the same enemies. Of these two nations one was, a hundred and fifty years ago, as respects opulence and civilization, in the highest rank among European communities; the other in the lowest rank. The opulent and highly civilized nation has raised the education of the people to free competition. In the poor and half-barbarous nation the education of the people is undertaken by the State. The result is that the first are last and the last first. The common people of Scotland are in a position to recognize the truth; have passed the common people of England. Free competition, tried with every advantage, has produced effects of which, as the Congressional Union tells us, we ought to be ashamed, and which must lower us in the opinion of every intelligent foreigner. State education, tried under every disadvantage, has produced an improvement to which it would be difficult to find a parallel in any age or country.—*Macaulay's Speech on Education*.

WASHINGTON'S VIEWS.

Some views of education entertained by Washington are indicated by provisions inserted in his last will; e. g., he provided that the slaves who had not attained their majority at the time when they were to receive their freedom in accordance with his direction should be taught to read and write and be brought up to some useful occupation. He bequeathed \$4,000 for the education of orphans and the children of the poor in the academy at Alexandria. He gave property for the endowment of a university which should draw to it the youth of all sections, thus preventing their being sent abroad to their injury, and reconciling local prejudices and antagonisms through friendly associations.

What I have read from Robert Hall was written at the beginning of the present century in reference to a status then-existing in Ireland; but it is proper to say that of late years the educational privileges of Ireland have been very greatly improved, as in fact they have been in every European country, until to day the truth is that many of them are passing our own country in the vigilance and intensity of the effort which they are making to educate their own people. Indeed, there is great danger that they will pass us, and pass us before a great while, in the matter of industrial skill, because of the greater attention they are giving to the matter, perhaps growing out of the fact that they have recently discovered the great need of the education which they want, and are making correspondingly vigorous efforts to overcome the prevailing ignorance. They also find that American production paying higher wages is nevertheless competing with them in their own markets, and likely to do so more extensively hereafter in all the markets of the world, and unless their people become educated they will soon be without employment or that form of employment giving productions for exportation to the other and increasing markets of the world. In

other words, the skilled labor of Europe, based upon general education, is coming more and more in competition with the skilled labor of America, and our superior intelligence will not much longer tell to our advantage in this direction.

I close my citations from the writings of eminent men and illustrations drawn from the history of the race by quotations from two remarkable addresses delivered before the National Education Assembly, held at Ocean Grove last August, from the 9th to the 12th, four days, inclusive.

Over sixty addresses were delivered on that occasion by American educators and some others interested in the subject. Thousands of people were in attendance, and all religious denominations nearly were represented.

Rev. J. C. Hartzell, D. D., who was the active organizer of the great work, has published the proceedings in a volume, which I hesitate not to say is of greater practical value than any other work upon the subject of education, and its cognate problems as they exist and require to be dealt with to-day than any, and I had almost said, all other sources of information accessible of which I have knowledge. The book is an encyclopedia in one volume, carefully indexed, and treats exhaustively of the following topics: Education and man's improvement; Illiteracy in the United States; National aid to common schools; The negro in America; Illiteracy, wealth, pauperism, and crimes; the American Indian problem; the American Mormon problem; Education in the South since the war; Christ in American education; Tables: Illiterate and educational status United States, 1880.

On that occasion, among the sixty, Hon. John Eaton, Commissioner of Education, delivered an address, which was full of meat, and of good meat, too. I wish to read a little from it, not his comments and philosophy, but statements of fact. I read from page 49:

But we must not pause here; we must look at the reverse side. New England to-day has but 1 college student, male and female, to every 167 families; whereas at the end of the first twenty-three years of New England history, or when there were 20,000 souls in the settlements, there was 1 university graduate to every 40 families. May we not say that hence came such wisdom in laying the foundation of those States? When will the educated classes anywhere attain the same relation to the whole body of the people?

But against this attendance upon the public schools there is the non-attendance of 5,754,759. Among these are the old hundred thousand who are in private schools that are not reported, there remain 5,600,000 of children of school age untaught. To furnish these sittings in buildings, at the usual average of \$20 per sitting, would cost a hundred millions in money; to furnish them teachers would require an increase of 30,000 to the teaching corps, and a single year's preparation of these teachers at the average rate in New York would cost \$10,000,000.

The pay of these 30,000 additional teachers for one year of ten months, at the rate of \$82 a month, which is about the average throughout the country, would amount to \$24,600,000. Add to this the items for preparation and school-house sittings necessary for these non-attending school children, and you have the grand total required for the first year of \$24,600,000.

There has been an attempt to raise a laugh at the proposition of the honorable Senator LOCAZ to appropriate \$60,000,000 in aid of education, but I give you here figures which can not be invalidated, showing that his proposition falls \$60,000,000 short of the sum which would be required to furnish for a single year all our school children now without school sittings and teachers.

Referring to myself he says:

Mr. Senator BLAIR, in his examination of this point in his recent speech, considering that Texas has a school period of only six years, states that if the school children were properly taught in the State of Texas, the number reported without school accommodations and without teachers would be increased by three millions.

In our cities we are accustomed to expect the best teachers, best school-houses, best methods, and best supervision; but laws making attendance obligatory are wanting in more than half of the States, and, on an average, two-fifths of the children are not enrolled in the schools. Here are forced upon us the terrible problems encountered in older civilizations and more dense populations.

The fifteen States and the District of Columbia, where slavery prevailed, having a legal white school population of 3,899,961, had 2,215,674 enrolled in schools, and with a colored school population of 1,803,357 had 784,709 enrolled, and expended \$12,475,044. This money, it should be remembered, is divided pro rata, without distinction of color, in all States excepting Kentucky and Delaware. In the former State the colored people have had for educational purposes the benefit only of the income of the tax upon their own property and polls and specified fines and forfeitures. By an act of the late Legislature, however, provision was made for pro rata taxation of the colored people of the State, and the amount upon property for educational purposes, uniting this and the amount from the previous provisions for education, and distributing the whole pro rata per capita. In Delaware, \$2,500 are now appropriated for the colored schools. What has been been accomplished in these States for education may be taken as a pledge of what they will do.

To which great agency can you assign the additional burden of educating these illiterates? To the family? How many families of the most cultured and best conditioned are unable to educate their children as in former bygone times of desire; and among those colored people the least supplied with schools, how widely is the family minus quantity as a factor in promoting the improvement of the young? Shall we then look to the church for the light to overcome this darkness? How inadequate are the resources of the church in the South to supply sittings and preachers for the special function of declaring the gospel? How generally are they in debt? What appeals are they compelled to make to their friends in other quarters? Shall we turn, then, thirdly, to the States, already impoverished by taxes with taxes on property and on the poll, and with a repudiation? In reply, let me invite attention to the fact that the taxable real and personal property reported for assessment in those States is given in round numbers as \$3,759,000,000, while the real and personal property in New York and New Jersey is only an equal amount, or \$1,292,000,000.

What would the people of these two States say to an additional assessment on their property sufficient to erect all the additional school-houses and supply all the teachers for the instruction of the millions of illiterates in the South? All are familiar with the wide-spreadness in the several Northern States to the assessment of any additional tax for education or any other purpose, and there the total

Wealth as assessed is reported as \$13,095,000,000, or nearly ten billions more than in the South.

It should be remembered, in addition to the short period in which schools are already taught in the South, that there are 2,702,835 children of age not enrolled for instruction. Take another comparison: Charleston, S. C., now levies a tax of three mills on a dollar, but to furnish the children of that State with a fair approach to the instruction given those in Massachusetts would require a tax on the property of the State of nearly three cents on the dollar. This the friends of education in Massachusetts or any other State would hesitate to propose in their own case.

I must not pause to elaborate these points, but supposing (1) that the labor of an illiterate is increased in value 25 per cent. by teaching him to read and write, 60 per cent. by giving him, and 75 per cent. by giving him a fair amount of training; and (2) that the average value of the labor of illiterates is the same as the average wages paid employes in manufacturing, then the following computations give sound conclusions.

By the census of 1880 the number of persons of twenty-one years and upward in the Southern States who were unable to write was 2,984,387. If 75 per cent. of them should be taught to read and write, it would increase the value of the labor of 2,238,293 persons 25 per cent. The present value of their labor is, approximately, \$248 a year each. The increase of value would be \$62 a year per capita, a total of \$138,773,980. If 15 per cent. of the illiterates should be fairly educated, it would increase the value of the labor of 447,658 persons 50 per cent., or from \$248 to \$372 a year each. The total of this annual increase would be \$55,599,562. If the remaining 10 per cent. of illiterates should have the value of their labor increased 75 per cent. by being thoroughly trained, the industrial value of 298,439 persons would be raised from \$248 to \$434 a year each, a total of \$55,509,654. By adding the three totals just given, it is seen that the increase which would come from educating the illiterates in the Southern States would be, were they educated as indicated, \$241,777,230 a year.

A regular computation may be made for the entire country. The average annual wages paid by manufacturers is \$345. The number of persons 21 and over unable to write is 2,201,265. By teaching 75 per cent. of these to read and write, the labor of 3,153,272 individuals is increased in value from \$345 to \$434 a year, a total gain of \$271,181,392 each year. The gain which would come from educating 15 per cent. (330,654) of the illiterates so that their labor would be increased 50 per cent. in value would be \$108,537,815. The same amount would be gained by so training the remaining 10 per cent. of illiterates that their labor would be of 75 per cent. more value; and the total annual profit to the country by the conversion of illiterate into educated labor would be, according to the prices assuming a basis of computation, \$488,739,707 a year.

Need I go further to indicate that education is the most profitable investment for both labor and capital? *

Omitting any reference to the influence of illiteracy during minority, or any teaching of the principles of the rights of the female adults, the late census shows us that there is a great army of 1,570,216 adult males or voters who can not write, an army nearly double that ever in the field during the late deplorable civil war. You will certainly excuse me from any delineation of the horrors of the devastation that might be wrought by their untrained and concentrated efforts against the peace and order of society.

I simply call your attention to what may be the injurious effect of their silent action *at the polls*. The members of our respective political parties believe in the rightness of their principles and seek to make their appeal to the reason and consciences of the people; but the figures disclose the alarming fact that in eleven States these illiterate voters outnumbered the votes cast in the last Presidential election by either of the political parties. Thus, should they unite with any state, in the next Presidential election, they would have absolute control of legislative and offices in those States, and of the election of twenty-two members of the United States Senate.

I turn now to the address of Col. Dexter A. Hawkins, of New York city, who is a prominent lawyer and publicist, as undoubtedly members of the Senate are aware. His address was upon the relations of education to wealth and morality, pauperism and crime. I read only the most pertinent extracts, and would refer any one interested to the entire address.

In 1870 the Commissioner of Education at Washington sent out a series of carefully drawn, comprehensive, and searching questions to the great centers of labor in all parts of the United States. These centers were so selected as to represent every kind of labor, from the rudest and simplest up to the most skilled. The object of the questions was to determine the relative productiveness of illiterate and illiterate labor. I have tabulated, reduced, and generalized the answers so as to get at what seems to me to be the average result over the whole country. This investigation—one of the most interesting ever made—brought clearly to light the following facts:

1. That an average free common-school education, such as is provided in all the States where the free common school has become a permanent institution, adds 80 per cent. to the productive power of the laborer considered as a mere productive machine.

2. That the average academical education adds 100 per cent.

3. That the average collegiate or university education adds from 200 to 300 per cent. to his average annual productive capacity, to say nothing of the vast increase in his manliness to his godlikeness.

By the census of 1880 we had in the United States 4,204,362 illiterate adults—white and colored.

I read this compilation in order to show that independent and most intelligent observers and thinkers arrive at substantially the same conclusion:

Now, putting their labor at the minimum annual value of \$100 each (which is far below the average even for farm labor, while the wages of manufacturing operatives, including 15 per cent. of women and children, as shown by the census of 1880, average in the whole country \$345 each per year), and the annual loss to the persons of the illiterate class, the average common-school education would be \$50 each. This, for the whole number of 4,240,362, is \$212,000,000 per year—a sum twice as large as the entire annual expenditure for public education in the whole country. This sum—\$210,000,000—is a clear annual loss, not only to these illiterates, but to the community, by reason of their illiteracy.

The late slave States complain of their inability to pay the expenses of free common schools, and they raised for public education in 1880 only \$10,883,104. The amount of the annual loss in these same States, from their labor being illiterate is at least \$150,000,000. The annual productivity of their laborers over what it is now would—had they been educated, as in Maine or Massachusetts—establish and support free common schools nine months in the year for every child of the school age within their borders, and leave a surplus sufficient to support a free academy in every county and a free college in every State.

A supposition of that kind is very well, but it must be remembered that an existing state of things, where it is the condition of human beings,

can not be changed but by long and expensive processes, and that to change the actual condition in these Southern States to the degree of literacy which exists in the ones referred to must necessarily be the work of ten or fifteen or twenty years.

A careful examination of the census of England, Scotland, Ireland, and of the several countries on the continent of Europe indicates that, other things being equal, pauperism is in the inverse ratio of the education of the mass of the people; that is, as education increases pauperism decreases, and as education decreases pauperism increases.

In the Grand Duchy of Baden they put into operation in 1851 a rigorous system of universal compulsory education in the elementary branches. The effect in seven years upon the number of paupers was to reduce it 25 per cent. It has been pointed out by statisticians and students of social science that 96 per cent. of pauperism could be exterminated by universal compulsory education in the elementary branches of knowledge and industry.

In Pennsylvania, Ohio, and Illinois, three great central States, where self-support is not difficult, one in ten of the illiterates is a pauper, while of the rest of the population only one in three hundred is a pauper. In other words, in those three great central States a given number of children suffered to grow up in ignorance and poverty thirty times as many paupers as when given an average common-school education.

In 1870 a special investigation was made, in fifteen States, of the inmates, to the number of 7,398, of almshouses and infirmaries. Of these, 4,327, or nearly 59 per cent., had been educated, while in those States not so investigated the average percentage of illiterates was only 61 per cent. of the whole population. From this 8 per cent. came that 99 per cent. of the paupers; or, to express it in another form, a given number of children in those fifteen States, suffered to grow up in ignorance and poverty thirty times as many paupers as the same number of children would if given a fair common-school education.

Similar results may be obtained from the census of almost every country in Europe or America.

We may safely say, then, that it is a general law of modern civilization that an illiterate person is from twenty to thirty times as liable to become a pauper and a charge upon the public as is one with an average common-school education; and that the annual loss to the community, in the United States, in the productive power of the illiterate, and in the support of paupers made such by illiteracy, is nearly a fourth of the whole, equal to the amount of being a pauper in the United States, and nearly a fourth of the whole of the children of the school age in the United States.

The annual expense of maintaining paupers—96 per cent. of whom have become such through lack of proper training while young—is at least ten times as great as would have been the expense to the public of securing an education while young to each of these paupers sufficient to have enabled 96 per cent. of them to support their families instead of being a burden upon the public.

Education leads naturally to industry, sobriety, and economy; hence it makes one conscious of the benefits resulting from these habits.

Statistics proclaim in no uncertain voice that *education is the surest preventive of pauperism*; and the expense of providing and applying in season this preventive would not be one-tenth that now brought upon society by pauperism.

The first incentive to action is self-support—gaining a livelihood. This is the very basis of personal independence of individual character, respectability, and influence. The first step in the career of an educator. Many of the paupers, and indigents, are capital invested in such a manner that the principal is absolutely safe, and the income large, sure, and promptly paid. The States should see to it that a reasonable investment of this kind is made in and for every child as it grows up.

In France, in 1868, one-half of the inhabitants could not read nor write. From this half came 95 per cent. of the persons arrested for crime. From the other, the educated half, came only 5 per cent. In other words, a given number of children, suffered to grow up illiterate, produced nineteen times as many criminals as arrested for crime as the same number would if educated, at least to the extent of the elementary branches.

In the Grand Duchy of Baden, from 1851 to 1861—seven years—the government, by a rigorous system of universal compulsory elementary education, reduced the number of prisoners actually arrested 51 per cent., and the number of crimes committed 51 per cent.

In the six New England States, in 1870, 7 per cent. of the inhabitants above ten years of age were unable to read and write; and yet this 7 per cent. produced 80 per cent. of the criminals. Or, in other words, a given number of children in New England at that time suffered to grow up illiterate produced fifty-three times as many criminals as the same number would if educated to the extent of the curriculum of the public schools. This fact is a complete vindication of the moral effect of the New England system of public education, Cardinal Annetelli to the contrary notwithstanding.

In the State of New York, in 1880, the illiterates produced eight times their pro rata proportion of the criminals in that State; that is, a given number of children brought up illiterate on the average produced eight times as many criminals as the same children would have produced if educated to the extent of the curriculum of the public schools.

In the city of New York, in 1870, among the illiterates, one crime was committed for every 3 persons; while among the literates there was only one crime to every 27 persons. Or, in other words, the ignorant class in that city furnishes nine times the criminals they would if educated in the public schools.

In the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, in 1870, the illiterate class, according to their numbers, committed seven times as many crimes as the literate class.

In Pennsylvania, Ohio, and Illinois, taken together, the illiterates committed ten times as many crimes, according to their numbers, as the literate class.

Take the whole of the United States together, according to the census of 1870, the illiterates committed ten times their pro rata proportion of crimes.

In Pennsylvania, in the years 1879 and 1880, one-thirtieth of the population above ten years of age could neither read nor write, and this one-thirtieth committed one-sixth of the crime, or nearly six times its proper proportion. But if we class with the illiterates the criminals who could barely read and write, but who had no education beyond bare reading and writing, it will then appear that the one-thirtieth of the population of Pennsylvania that is illiterate commits one-third of the crime, or more than fourteen times its legitimate proportion.

A careful examination of the statistics of twenty States shows the following average results:

First. That one-sixth of all the crime in the country is committed by persons wholly illiterate.

Second. That one-third of the crime in the country is committed by persons wholly or substantially illiterate.

Third. That the proportion of the criminals among the illiterate class is, on the average, ten times as great as it is among those who have been instructed in the elements of a common-school education or beyond.

Fourth. That the expense imposed upon society to protect itself against a few thousand criminals, most of whom were made such through the neglect of society to take care of their education when young, is one of the heaviest of the

public burdens. In the city of New York it is 50 per cent. more than the whole cost of the public schools.

In that city the annual appropriation for police, criminal courts, reformatories, jails, and penitentiaries is over five millions of dollars; while that for the training of the 35,000 school children in the city is only \$3,500,000.

The average attendance at the schools in 1880 was 133,329. The "compulsory school age"—that is, the age within which all children are required by law in the State of New York to attend school—is eight to fourteen years. The number of children of this age in the city of New York in June, 1880, was 144,474; while the average attendance on the public schools of children of all ages from five to twenty-one in that year in the city was only 133,066. As a logical consequence of this neglect of education the city jails and almshouses are crammed and taxes are high.

The city, in its meager provision for education, and its enormous taxation for criminals (to use an old but expressive adage) "saves at the spigot but loses at the bung."

What is true of the metropolis of the country is equally true of every city, town, village, and neighborhood.

These facts could be multiplied almost without limit.

The examination of the statistics of criminality and illiteracy in the census of any civilized state or country will give results substantially in harmony with the above.

Carlyle says that—

"If the devil were passing through my country, and he applied to me for instruction on any truth or fact of this universe, I should wish to give it to him. He is less a devil knowing that three and three are six than if he didn't know it; a light spark, though of the faintest, is in the fact; if he knew facts enough, continuous light would dawn on him; he would (to his amazement) understand what this universe is, on what principles it conducts itself, and would cease to be a devil."

I desire here to introduce a series of tables compiled from various sources, but chiefly from the census of 1880 and from returns gathered by the Bureau of Education. There are sometimes slight variations in the results obtained by different agencies, but their general accord is an indication of their reliability.

Several of the most important are taken from the report of the committee of the House of Representatives on the bill for aid of the Government for educational purposes. I refer to Mr. Willis's report, very lately published; a report without which no examination of the subject will have been exhaustive, and with which no one can consider his sources of information incomplete.

These tables contain the substance of all the statistical matter in possession of the Government necessary for the study of the subject. Upon several of them I have expended considerable labor personally, but to the wise, philosophical, and indefatigable efforts of the Bureaus of Education and of the Census the credit of this mathematical and statistical grouping chiefly belongs.

There is necessarily some repetition of matter in showing different combinations of elements as they relate to different topics and propositions, but it is believed that there are important features peculiar to each table, and that the present and future will find this statistical statement one of convenient reference and perhaps of profound study.

These tables are twenty-four in number, and in order to facilitate reference to them I give a résumé of the contents of each.

Table 1. Historical and statistical data of the United States.

Table 2. Showing the area of the several States and Territories containing public lands, and the quantity devoted for educational purposes up to June 30, 1867.

Table 3. Public-school statistics of the United States in 1880, with number of teachers and pupils in private schools, prepared by Commissioner of Education. Items too numerous to mention.

Table 4. Showing the total population, school population, enrollment, average attendance, total number of teachers, length of school

year in days, number of pupils or children not attending school, per cent. of school population enrolled in schools, per cent. of school population not enrolled in school in eighty-six cities, census of 1880.

Table 5. Illiteracy in the United States.

Table 6. Illiterate population ten years of age and over.

Table 7. White and colored adult males and adult male illiterates of the two races.

Table 8. Colored schools and enrollment in Southern States five years from 1877 to 1881.

Table 9. Giving the popular majorities received at the last three Presidential elections, and the number of illiterate voters as shown by census of 1880.

Table 10. Comparative statistics of education at the South.

Table 11. The population and assessed valuation of personal property and real estate in States and Territories, from census reports of 1860, 1870, and 1880.

Table 12. Amount raised by taxation for support of public schools in each State and Territory during the year 1880.

Table 13. Rate of taxation for school purposes in various cities.

Table 14. Showing the population, total assessed valuation of property, total taxation, per capita of valuation, per capita of taxation, rate of taxation, total indebtedness, per capita of indebtedness, by States and Territories.

Table 15. Assessed valuation of real and personal property, total population by States, &c., and property per capita, the States and Territories arranged in groups.

Table 16. Increase and decrease in assessed valuation in the several Southern States, as shown by comparison of census of 1870 and 1880.

Table 17. School district indebtedness in the United States.

Table 18. Valuation and taxation.

Table 19. Selected cities, valuation and taxation.

Table 20. Drawn from the returns of school statistics for the year 1881 to the Bureau of Education, showing the number of youth not enrolled in school, and the expense of supplying them with the necessary school-houses, teachers, and text-books, including wages of teachers, for a school three months the first year.

Table 21. Drawn from the returns of school statistics from the Southern States and District of Columbia for the year 1881, showing the number of youth not enrolled in school, and the expense of supplying them with the necessary school-houses and teachers, and the books and wages of teachers for a school of three months' length for the first year.

Table 22. Based on returns to the Bureau of Education for 1881, showing legal school population, total school expenditure, per capita of school expenditure, proportion of \$15,000,000 to each State based on number of persons by census of 1880 ten years old and upward who can not read, proportion of \$15,000,000 to per capita of school population of 1881, total of school expenditure including \$15,000,000, and total per capita expenditure including \$15,000,000.

Table 23. Showing the sum of money which each State and Territory would receive in the division of \$15,000,000 among them all in proportion to their relative population ten years of age and upward, who can not write (census of 1880, 6,239,958).

Table 24. Showing the sum of money which each State and Territory would receive in the division of \$15,000,000 among them all in proportion to their relative population ten years of age and upward who can not read. (Census 1880.)

TABLE 1.—Historical and statistical data of the United States.

[Compiled from Report of the Commissioner of the Land Office for 1867.]

States and Territories.	Act organizing Territory.			Act admitting State.			Area in square miles.	Population in 1860, a
	U.S.Statutes.	Vol.	Page.	U.S.Statutes.	Vol.	Page.		
ORIGINAL STATES.								
New Hampshire.....							9,280	326,073
Massachusetts.....							7,800	1,231,066
Rhode Island.....							1,306	174,743
Connecticut.....							4,750	460,147
New York.....							47,000	3,880,735
New Jersey.....							8,320	672,035
Pennsylvania.....							46,000	2,966,115
Delaware.....							2,120	112,216
Maryland.....							11,124	687,049
Virginia, East and West.....							61,352	1,596,318
North Carolina.....							50,704	922,622
South Carolina.....							34,000	703,708
Georgia.....							58,000	1,057,286
STATES ADMITTED.								
Kentucky.....				Feb. 4, 1791	1	189	37,680	1,155,684
Vermont.....				Feb. 18, 1791	1	191	9,100	315,068
Tennessee.....				June 1, 1796	1	491	45,000	1,169,801
Ohio.....	Ord. of 1787	2	173	Apr. 30, 1802	2	173	39,964	2,330,502
Louisiana.....	Mar. 3, 1805	2	351	Apr. 8, 1812	2	701	541,316	708,062
Indiana.....	May 7, 1800	2	58	Dec. 11, 1816	3	309	33,809	1,350,428
Mississippi.....	Apr. 7, 1798	1	549	Dec. 10, 1817	3	672	47,156	791,305
Alabama.....	Feb. 3, 1802	2	514	Dec. 3, 1818	3	530	555,410	1,711,351
Illinois.....	Mar. 3, 1817	3	371	Dec. 14, 1819	3	608	96,722	964,201
Maine.....				Mar. 3, 1820	3	544	835,000	628,279

TABLE 1.—*Historical and statistical data of the United States—Continued.*
[Compiled from Report of the Commissioner of the Land Office for 1867.]

States and Territories.	Act organizing Territory.			Act admitting State.			Area in square miles.	Population in 1860, <i>a</i>
	U.S.Statutes.	Vol.	Page.	U.S.Statutes.	Vol.	Page.		
Missouri.....	June 4, 1812	2	743	Mar. 2, 1821	3	645	665,350	1,182,012
Arkansas.....	Mar. 2, 1819	3	493	June 15, 1836	5	50	92,198	435,450
Michigan.....	Jan. 11, 1805	3	399	Jan. 26, 1837	5	141	650,451	740,113
Florida.....	Mar. 30, 1822	3	654	Mar. 3, 1845	5	742	59,268	140,425
Iowa.....	June 12, 1838	5	235	Mar. 3, 1845	5	742	50,045	674,948
Texas.....	.....	.....	.....	Dec. 29, 1845	9	108	6274,356	604,215
Wisconsin.....	Apr. 20, 1836	5	10	Mar. 3, 1847	9	178	50,932	775,381
California.....	.....	.....	.....	Sept. 9, 1850	9	452	2188,981	305,439
Minnesota.....	Mar. 3, 1849	9	403	Feb. 26, 1857	11	166	83,531	173,855
Oregon.....	Aug. 14, 1848	9	323	Feb. 14, 1859	11	383	95,274	52,465
Kansas.....	May 30, 1854	10	277	Jan. 29, 1861	12	126	81,818	107,266
West Virginia.....	.....	.....	.....	Dec. 31, 1862	12	633	23,000	.....
Nevada.....	Mar. 2, 1861	12	209	Mar. 21, 1864	13	30	112,060	c6,857
Colorado.....	Feb. 28, 1861	12	172	.....	13	32	2104,500	c34,277
Nebraska.....	May 30, 1854	10	277	Mar. 1, 1867	13	47	75,995	28,541
TERRITORIES.								
New Mexico.....	Sept. 9, 1850	9	446	.....	.....	.....	121,201	.....
Utah.....	Sept. 9, 1850	9	453	.....	.....	.....	88,090	.....
Washington.....	Mar. 2, 1853	10	172	.....	.....	.....	69,994	.....
Dakota.....	Mar. 2, 1861	12	239	.....	.....	.....	240,597	.....
Arizona.....	Feb. 24, 1863	12	661	.....	.....	.....	113,916	.....
Idaho.....	Mar. 3, 1863	12	808	.....	.....	.....	50,932	.....
Montana.....	May 26, 1864	13	85	.....	.....	.....	143,776	.....
Indian Territory.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	68,981	.....
District of Columbia.....	July 16, 1790	1	130	.....	.....	.....	d 10 m. sq.	f 126,990
Russian purchase.....	Mar. 3, 1791	1	214	.....	.....	.....	557,300	70,000

a Total population in 1860 was 31,500,000; estimated in 1867 to be 38,500,000. *b* Area taken from geographical authorities and not from public surveys. *c* To the white population in Nevada should be added 10,507 Indians; and in Colorado, 2,261 Indians. *d* As estimated January 1, 1865. *e* That portion of District of Columbia south of the Potomac River was retroceded to Virginia July 9, 1816 (Statutes, volume 6, page 35). *f* By census of 1867.

TABLE 3.—*Public school statistics of the United States in 1880, with number of teachers and pupils in private schools, prepared by Commissioner of Education.*

States.	School age.	School population.	Enrolled in public schools.	Average daily attendance.	Average duration of school in days.	Expenditures in the year—per capita of pupils enrolled in public schools.	Number of public schools.	Teachers in public schools.	Teachers in private schools.*	Pupils in private schools.*	Available school funds (per annum).	Permanent school fund, in portions not now available.	Interest on permanent fund, including rents of school lands.
Alabama.....	7-21	388,003	179,490	117,978	80.0	\$2 08	4,594	4,615	.....	.....	\$2,523,050	.....	\$198,013
Arkansas.....	5-21	217,947	79,979	.....	.....	.....	3,100	1,827	.....	.....	6144,373	6890,186	714,209
California.....	5-17	215,978	158,765	100,566	146.6	147 17	2,803	3,595	.....	14,933	2,006,800	2,101,453	189,999
Colorado.....	6-21	35,566	22,119	12,618	68.0	17 80	.....	678	.....	.....	38,000	.....	c7,041
Connecticut.....	4-16	140,235	119,694	878,421	179.2	11 01	1,630	24,100	512	13,900	2,021,316	2,021,316	112,188
Delaware.....	6-21	55,450	27,829	.....	105.0	.....	.....	594	.....	.....	448,969	.....	28,907
Florida.....	4-21	88,677	39,315	27,046	.....	.....	1,131	1,095	.....	.....	246,900	.....	d17,062
Georgia.....	6-18	443,444	236,533	145,190	.....	.....	25,916	6,000	1,680	48,452	.....	.....	.....
Illinois.....	6-21	1,010,851	704,041	431,638	150.0	9 61	11,964	22,235	1,497	60,440	9,049,302	9,041,312	693,119
Indiana.....	6-21	703,558	511,283	321,639	136.0	7 06	9,383	13,378	692	112,112	9,063,235	9,063,235	663,914
Iowa.....	5-21	596,556	426,057	259,836	148.0	11 25	11,084	21,598	474	12,724	3,454,411	.....	232,902
Kansas.....	5-21	340,647	231,434	137,667	107.0	7 85	5,233	7,780	979	66,205	2,297,599	11,815,519	451,608
Kentucky.....	a6-20	545,161	265,581	179,874	102.0	8 85	.....	6,764	.....	.....	1,755,682	.....	114,172
Louisiana.....	6-18	273,845	68,440	45,629	118.0	66 74	1,494	2,025	9277	84,404	.....	1,130,867	30,320
Maine.....	4-21	214,656	149,827	103,113	120.0	6 53	.....	6,934	.....	.....	428,287	.....	27,995
Maryland.....	5-20	276,120	162,431	85,778	210.0	8 64	2,300	3,125	.....	906,229	.....	.....	52,116
Massachusetts.....	5-15	307,321	306,777	238,127	177.0	714 93	5,570	8,595	.....	26,289	2,086,886	.....	138,015
Michigan.....	5-20	506,221	362,556	221,898	171.0	68 19	6,695	13,449	708	18,834	3,240,042	3,240,042	235,461
Minnesota.....	5-21	c271,428	180,248	717,161	94.0	68 42	p1,064	5,215	.....	4,419,728	15,000,000	.....	250,485
Mississippi.....	5-21	426,689	236,704	156,761	77.5	2 70	65,367	5,560	.....	6,815,229	.....	.....	126,233
Missouri.....	6-20	723,484	476,376	279,132	100.0	.....	8,641	10,447	.....	.....	8,950,806	.....	e196,245
Nebraska.....	6-21	142,348	92,549	60,156	109.0	9 12	2,922	4,160	.....	.....	3,223,217	220,754,316	.....
Nevada.....	b6-18	b10,295	b7,590	b5,108	.....	.....	.....	b184	.....	.....	b380,000	.....	.....
New Hampshire.....	b5-21	b72,102	b65,048	b48,910	b101.5	.....	2,528	b2,582	.....	.....	b2,066	.....	b24,809
New Jersey.....	5-18	330,685	204,961	115,194	192.0	9 48	.....	3,447	572	45,530	1,494,007	2,515,785	100,000
New York.....	5-21	1,614,173	1,031,782	573,680	173.0	10 19	p1,137	30,720	.....	4018,476	37,265,807	.....	f178,931
North Carolina.....	6-21	459,324	225,606	147,802	54.0	11 2	5,503	4,130	.....	.....	2200,000	a6531,555	8,000
Ohio.....	6-21	b1,043,320	747,138	476,279	150.0	8 89	12,043	23,684	292	28,650	.....	.....	245,745
Oregon.....	4-30	.....	37,333	27,435	89.6	8 37	b865	1,314	212	3,714	6562,830	.....	36,910
Pennsylvania.....	6-21	g1,290,040	937,310	601,627	147.0	.....	b18,386	21,375	e947	.....	.....	.....	gpl 190,000
Rhode Island.....	5-15	52,273	44,780	29,065	a184.0	11 63	924	1,595	208	6,676	240,376	266,950	12,448
South Carolina.....	6-16	2228,128	134,672	.....	77.0	2 42	2,973	3,171	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Tennessee.....	6-21	544,862	280,141	191,461	68.0	.....	5,522	5,945	1,605	41,008	a2,512,500	a2,512,500	.....
Texas.....	5-14	1,614,327	186,782	573,680	173.0	10 19	6,137	30,720	.....	.....	c3,385,371	.....	44,000
Vermont.....	5-20	506,626	75,238	.....	.....	.....	2,616	4,326	.....	.....	b609,087	.....	b53,690
Virginia.....	5-21	555,597	220,736	128,404	113.0	3 82	4,854	4,873	1,009	25,602	.....	1,468,765	.....
West Virginia.....	6-21	210,113	142,850	91,704	99.0	4 43	b3,725	4,134	.....	.....	423,989	423,989	15,320
Wisconsin.....	4-20	485,229	299,298	197,510	162.5	7 51	5,984	10,115	804	29,998	2,747,844	2,995,112	184,069
Total for States.....	.....	13,128,078	9,679,675	5,743,830	.....	.....	187,005	280,143	12,993	560,239	.....	.....	6,392,048

NATIONAL AID TO COMMON SCHOOLS.

TABLE 3.—Public school statistics of the United States in 1880, with number of teachers and pupils in private schools, &c.—Continued.

Territories.	School age.	School population.	Enrolled in public schools.	Average daily attendance.	Average duration of school in days.	Expenditure in the year—per capita of pupils enrolled in public schools.	Number of public schools.	Teachers in public schools.	Teachers in private schools. ^a	Pupils in private schools.	Available school funds (per-annuity).	Permanent school fund, including portions not now available.	Interest on permanent fund, including rents of school lands.
Arizona.....	6-21	7,148	4,212	2,847	100.0	.....	.....	101	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Dakota.....	5-21	12,630	8,042	5,170	88.0	.....	.....	286	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
District of Columbia.....	6-17	43,558	26,439	20,637	193.0	\$14.87	1,325	433	.....	.....	.....	\$60,385	\$2,225
Idaho.....	5-21	.....	6,758	.....	.....	.....	.....	155	.....	25,000	.....	.....	.....
Indian.....	.....	71,141	36,008	33,944	.....	.....	.....	160	.....	.....	663,631,425	.....	.....
Montana.....	4-21	7,070	3,970	2,506	96.0	.....	.....	153	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
New Mexico.....	6-18	429,312	65,151	.....	132.0	.....	4138	617	681	61,259	.....	.....	.....
Utah.....	6-18	40,762	24,326	17,178	128.0	.....	6373	517	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Washington.....	6-21	621,223	414,632	40,583	887.5	.....	340	5560	631	.....	.....	.....	.....
Wyoming.....	6-21	.....	62,000	61,287	.....	.....	.....	649	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Total for Territories.....	.....	175,457	101,118	61,151	.....	.....	1,696	2,610	112	6,921	.....	.....	188,584
Grand total.....	.....	15,803,535	9,780,773	5,801,993	.....	.....	188,701	282,753	13,105	567,160	.....	.....	6,580,632

^a For whites; for colored 6-16. ^b In 1879. ^c In 1875. ^d Census of 1870. ^e In 1878. ^f Estimated. ^g In 1873. ^h In 1877. ⁱ In the Cherokee, Choctaw, and Creek Nations. ^j In the five civilized tribes. ^k For the winter. ^l In white schools only. ^m In cities; 176 in counties. ⁿ In evening schools, 61. ^o In the counties; 153 in cities and towns. ^p Approximately. ^q Number necessary to supply the schools. ^r Private schools in public buildings. ^s In 1879; exclusive of New Orleans private schools. ^t In 1879; exclusive of Philadelphia. ^u In academies and private schools. ^v Estimated average number of pupils. ^w Includes the United States deposit fund, as reported in 1878, amounting to \$1,014,521. ^x In State and United States 4 percents, ordered to be sold by the last Legislature. ^y Exclusive of 1,000,000 acres of swamp land made subject to entry sale by last Legislature. ^z Funds in the five civilized tribes, whole or part interest of which is used for school purposes. ^{aa} From rents in 1879. ^{ab} State appropriation. ^{ac} Includes revenue from other funds. ^{ad} Apparently does not include interest on the United States deposit fund. ^{ae} State appropriation in lieu of interest on permanent fund. ^{af} As far as reported by State superintendents; accompanying is a more specific report on this point, which approximately exhibits (if we exclude the preparatory work done by private normal schools) the number of private institutions, with teachers and pupils in them, giving secondary or superior instruction in each State and Territory.

TABLE 2.—Showing the area of the several States and Territories containing public lands, and the quantity devoted for educational purposes by Congress up to June 30, 1867.

[Compiled from Report of the Commissioner of the Land Office for 1867.]

States and Territories containing public lands.	Area of States and Territories containing public lands.		Donations and grants for schools and universities.		Granted for agricultural colleges July 2, 1862. ^a		Granted for deaf and dumb asylums.	Remaining unsold and unappropriated June 30, 1867.
			Schools.	Universities.	Selected in place.	Located with scrip.		
	Square miles.	Acres.	Acres.	Acres.	Acres.	Acres.	Acres.	Acres.
Ohio.....	30,961	25,576,900	704,488	69,120	.....	.....	.....	500.00
Indiana.....	33,809	21,637,760	630,317	46,180	.....	.....	.....	2,000.00
Illinois.....	53,110	35,462,000	985,060	46,080	.....	.....	.....	2,000.00
Missouri.....	65,350	41,824,000	1,109,639	46,080	244,381.51	147,797.25	.....	1,835,892.71
Alabama.....	50,722	32,462,080	902,774	46,080	.....	.....	21,949.46	6,915,081.32
Mississippi.....	47,136	30,179,840	857,584	46,080	.....	.....	.....	4,380,805.56
Louisiana.....	41,946	26,461,140	786,041	46,680	.....	.....	.....	6,582,841.54
Arkansas.....	56,451	36,128,610	1,067,397	46,080	225,258.88	960,897.59	.....	5,180,640.63
Kentucky.....	52,198	33,406,720	886,400	46,080	.....	.....	2,097.43	11,737,662.54
Florida.....	50,268	37,931,520	908,563	92,160	.....	1,700.00	20,924.22	17,510,974.00
Texas.....	53,045	35,228,800	905,144	.....	240,600.96	.....	.....	3,113,464.18
Wisconsin.....	54,321	34,511,360	958,619	92,160	240,007.73	702,425.07	.....	10,016,700.87
California.....	188,981	120,947,840	6,719,324	46,080	.....	.....	.....	109,062,392.13
Minnesota.....	83,531	53,439,840	2,969,960	46,080	119,852.17	488,803.03	.....	36,776,170.89
Nebraska.....	95,271	60,975,040	3,329,700	46,080	.....	1,020.00	.....	52,712,078.96
Oregon.....	81,348	52,043,520	2,891,306	46,080	90,000.40	411,939.79	.....	43,148,876.44
Nevada.....	112,000	71,737,720	3,985,430	46,080	.....	.....	.....	67,080,382.62
Nebraska.....	75,965	48,636,800	2,702,014	46,080	.....	475,983.58	.....	42,523,927.30
Washington Territory.....	48,904	44,796,160	2,488,675	46,080	.....	1,120.00	.....	41,667,464.39
New Mexico.....	121,201	77,508,640	4,309,568	46,080	.....	.....	.....	73,085,192.00
Utah.....	88,056	56,353,625	3,130,869	46,080	.....	.....	.....	51,139,646.00
Dakota.....	211,597	133,982,080	8,554,560	.....	.....	.....	.....	14,285,281.97
Colorado.....	101,504	66,880,000	3,715,253	.....	.....	.....	.....	62,870,065.83
Montana.....	143,776	92,016,640	5,112,635	.....	.....	.....	.....	86,904,065.00
Arizona.....	113,916	72,906,304	4,050,250	.....	.....	.....	.....	88,855,054.00
Idaho.....	84,932	58,196,480	3,253,137	.....	.....	.....	.....	51,953,343.00
Indian.....	68,904	44,154,240	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	44,154,240.00
American purchase from Russia.....	577,300	369,320,000	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	369,320,000.00
Total.....	2,867,185	1,831,998,400	67,983,914	1,082,880	1,150,499.65	3,192,582.22	44,971.11	1,414,567,574.99

^a The whole quantity liable to be issued under the act of July 2, 1862, is 9,600,000 acres.

NATIONAL AID TO COMMON SCHOOLS.

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TABLE 4.—Table prepared at the request of Hon. H. W. Blair, by the Bureau of Education, showing the total population, school population, enrollment, average attendance, total number of teachers, length of school year in days, number of pupils or children of school age not attending school, per cent. of school population enrolled in schools, per cent. of school population not enrolled in school in eighty-six cities (census of 1880).

Cities.	Population.	School population.	Enrollment.	Average attendance.	Total number of teachers.	Length of school year in days.	Number of pupils not attending.	Per cent. of school population enrolled in school.	Per cent. of school population not enrolled in school.
Mobile, Ala.	29,132		4,659	4,014	125	172			
Selma, Ala.	7,529	1,757	882	717	14		875	50	50
Little Rock, Ark.	13,138	6,169	2,503	1,655	33	180	3,666	41	59
Oakland, Cal.	54,555	8,108	3,906	5,067	23	206	2,112	74	26
Sacramento, Cal.	21,420	4,943	3,895		75	200	1,048	79	21
San Francisco, Cal.	233,959	53,892	38,320	28,150	686	211	15,572	71	29
Denver, Colo.	35,629	5,700	3,210	1,953	65	190	2,190	56	44
Bridgeport, Conn.	29,148	6,641	5,229	3,589	210	91	1,112	79	21
Hartford, Conn.	42,015	9,652	7,612	4,886	140	201	2,010	79	21
New Haven, Conn.	62,882	13,897	11,897	7,931	230	200	2,000	86	14
Wilmington, Del.	42,478		7,643	4,472	115				
Georgetown and Washington, D. C.	156,871	27,127	15,728	12,568	269		11,414		
Jacksonville, Fla.	7,650	1,011	804		17	176	207	79	21
Key West, Fla.	9,890	3,415	1,168	828	17	240	2,247	34	66
Atlanta, Ga.	37,409	10,500	4,100	2,609	68	201	6,400	39	61
Augusta, Ga.	21,891	9,260	4,127	1,607	183	32	5,329	43	57
Chicago, Ill.	502,185	137,035	59,562	42,375	896	200	77,473	43	57
Peoria, Ill.	29,359	9,670	4,761	3,386	76	200	4,409	49	51
Indianapolis, Ind.	75,056	26,789	13,936	8,925	219	200	11,853	52	48
Terre Haute, Ind.	84,042	22,416	11,385	7,275	20	78	6,068	50	50
Des Moines, Iowa	22,408	3,576	2,322	1,562	41	190	1,254	65	35
Dubuque, Iowa	22,254	3,476	3,686	2,555	71	200	5,790	39	61
Leavenworth, Kans.	16,546	6,297	3,060	2,154	34	180	3,197	49	51
Topeka, Kans.	25,482	2,816	1,955	1,607	180	81	1,810	68	32
Covington, Ky.	29,720	10,094	3,286	2,453	60	198	6,809	32	68
Louisville, Ky.	123,758	46,587	19,900	13,498	325	215	26,597	43	57
New Orleans, La.	216,090	56,947	17,886	13,190	407	208	39,661	31	69
Bangor, Me.	16,356	5,479	2,138	1,458	20	71	2,259	40	60
Lewiston, Me.	19,083	5,974	3,558	2,061	76	187	2,416	60	40
Portland, Me.	33,810	10,660	6,797	4,317	128	200	3,863	64	36
Baltimore, Md.	332,313	86,961	48,066	29,961	822	186	38,805	55	45
Boston, Mass.	362,839	57,689	39,688	46,130	1,201	200	2,065	70	30
Lynn, Mass.	39,151	6,465	4,800	4,232	118	200	2,065	70	30
Lowell, Mass.	59,475	9,121	12,211	6,045	160		3,060	434	
Worcester, Mass.	58,291	10,988	11,452	7,913	218	200	464	4104	
Detroit, Mich.	116,346	37,467	15,819	10,488	230	200	23,588	40	60
Grand Rapids, Mich.	32,016	9,741	7,727	3,950	106	200	4,057	58	42
Minneapolis, Minn.	46,887	12,806	6,142	4,248	120	200	6,664	48	52
Saint Paul, Minn.	41,473		4,328	3,030	96	200			
Vicksburg, Miss.	11,814	3,000	1,196		21	1,864			
Kansas City, Mo.	57,788	11,858	3,156		62	200	6,066	46	54
Saint Joseph, Mo.	32,431	8,908	3,820	2,579	58	200	5,088	43	57
Saint Louis, Mo.	350,518	106,372	55,790	36,449	1,044	200	50,592	52	48
Omaha, Neb.	30,518	7,281	3,716		97	200	3,665	50	50
Dover, N. H.	11,687	2,850	1,880	1,436	46	180	470	80	20
Manchester, N. H.	32,630	4,774	4,350	2,818	86	190	424	91	9
Nashua, N. H.	13,397	2,072	2,526	1,630	52	180	454	421	
Portsmouth, N. H.	9,690	2,251	2,891	1,580	35	200	300	62	38
Jersey City, N. J.	129,722	41,220	22,746	19,406	828	200	18,450	55	45
Newark, N. J.	126,508	41,935	19,778	11,100	270	210	22,457	46	54
Paterson, N. J.	51,931	13,673	7,901	4,750	142	200	5,571	58	42
Albany, N. Y.	90,738	35,111	14,049	9,175	229	210	21,362	40	60
Brooklyn, N. Y.	566,663	181,083	96,693	52,677	1,315	205	84,729	53	47
Buffalo, N. Y.	155,134	56,000	18,606	14,555	439	201	37,394	33	67
New York, N. Y.	1,206,209	385,030	270,176	132,720	3,357	204	114,824	70	30
Providence, R. I.	59,366	37,600	13,369	8,250	230	200	23,131	37	63
Wilmington, N. C.	17,350	4,221	866				4,053	18	82
Cincinnati, Ohio	255,139	87,618	36,121	27,279	671	225	51,497	41	59
Cleveland, Ohio	160,146	49,256	24,262	16,807	596	196	24,994	49	51
Columbus, Ohio	51,647	14,662	7,902	5,363	149	200	6,760	54	46
Dayton, Ohio	38,678	11,660	6,114	4,327	125	200	5,546	52	48
Toledo, Ohio	50,337	14,898	7,615	4,739	125	200	7,283	51	49
Portland, Oreg.	17,377	4,669	2,650	1,956	46	200	2,019	57	43
Allegheeny, Pa.	78,682		11,610	8,287	202	195			
Philadelphia, Pa.	873,179	108,741	94,145		2,295	207			
Pittsburgh, Pa.	156,889		26,487	17,387	526				
Seranton, Pa.	45,850	19,800	10,174	6,861	169	220	9,626	51	49
Newport, R. I.	15,693	3,419	1,580	1,808	53	198	839	75	25
Providence, R. I.	104,837	19,108	12,903	9,630	280		5,415	57	43
Charleston, S. C.	49,984	12,727	7,284		91	197	5,433	57	43
Columbia, S. C.	10,036								
Cattanooga, Tenn.	12,892	3,061	2,185	1,382	30	180	876	71	29
Knoxville, Tenn.	9,638	2,100	1,500	1,494	26	174	5,424	72	28
Memphis, Tenn.	33,592	9,011	4,105	2,389	63	151	4,906	45	55
Nashville, Tenn.	43,550	12,460	6,098	4,299	96	190	6,362	49	51
Austin, Tex.	16,513	2,746	1,756	1,172	23	100	990	64	36
San Antonio, Tex.	20,550	3,022	1,584	934	23	100	1,418	53	47
Burlington, Vt.	11,365		1,566		32				
Rutland, Vt.	12,149		2,395		64				
Richmond, Va.	21,966	6,655	1,613	1,117	26	210	5,682	24	76
Petersburg, Va.	21,650	2,417	1,985	1,494	26	174	5,424	72	28
Richmond, Va.	63,600	21,536	5,821	4,778	129	198	15,715	27	73
Madison, Wis.	10,324	3,917	1,939	1,745	34	185	1,578	55	45
Waukegan, Wis.	115,587	37,742	17,085	11,149	239		20,657	45	55
Onkush, Wis.	11,748	5,674	2,217	2,017	53		3,697	58	42
	8,300,081	2,652,923	1,302,776	858,533	21,672		750,147		

a More than the school population. This is due to the fact that they are allowed to attend school after the school age established by law.
Average attendance about two-thirds of enrollment or one-third of population of school age.
Thirty-four cities 50 per cent. and upward not enrolled at all.

TABLE 5.—*Illiteracy in the United States, census of 1880.*

States and Territories.	Total population.	Total population who can not read, ten years of age and over.	Per cent. of total population who can not read.	Total population who can not write, ten years of age and over.	Per cent. of total population who can not write.	Total white population.	Total white population who can not write, ten years of age and over.	Per cent. of total white population who can not write.	Total colored population.	Total colored population who can not write, ten years of age and over.	Per cent. of total colored population who can not write.
Alabama.....	1,262,465	370,279	29.33	433,447	34.33	662,185	111,767	16.88	600,320	321,680	53.58
Arizona.....	40,110	5,496	13.59	5,842	14.45	35,109	4,824	13.72	5,286	1,018	19.28
Arkansas.....	802,525	133,229	16.60	202,015	25.17	501,531	98,542	19.66	210,994	103,473	49.04
California.....	864,604	48,583	5.62	53,430	6.18	767,181	26,090	3.40	97,513	27,340	28.04
Colorado.....	191,827	9,321	4.80	10,474	5.39	191,126	9,906	5.18	3,201	568	17.74
Connecticut.....	622,700	20,986	3.37	28,424	4.56	600,769	26,763	4.38	11,931	1,661	13.92
Dakota.....	135,177	3,604	2.29	4,821	3.57	133,147	4,157	3.13	2,030	664	32.71
Delaware.....	116,698	16,912	14.51	19,414	16.64	120,160	8,316	6.95	26,448	11,068	41.85
District of Columbia.....	177,621	21,541	12.13	25,778	14.51	118,006	3,988	3.38	59,618	21,700	36.55
Florida.....	209,193	70,219	33.56	80,183	38.35	142,605	19,763	13.86	126,888	60,420	47.62
Georgia.....	1,512,180	446,682	29.56	520,416	34.75	816,946	128,934	15.78	725,274	391,482	53.98
Idaho.....	32,610	1,384	4.24	1,778	5.45	29,013	784	2.70	3,597	994	27.63
Illinois.....	3,077,871	96,809	3.15	145,397	4.72	3,031,151	132,426	4.37	46,720	12,271	27.76
Indiana.....	1,978,304	70,098	3.54	110,761	5.60	1,938,798	100,398	5.18	39,503	10,363	26.23
Iowa.....	1,025,445	28,117	2.74	36,909	3.59	1,011,690	44,877	4.43	19,015	2,172	11.42
Kansas.....	596,095	25,503	4.28	39,476	6.62	556,555	24,888	4.47	43,941	14,588	33.20
Kentucky.....	1,618,600	258,186	15.96	348,392	21.53	1,377,179	214,497	15.58	271,511	133,805	49.31
Louisiana.....	939,916	207,312	22.16	318,380	33.87	451,054	58,551	12.96	484,992	259,429	53.49
Maine.....	181,836	7,821	4.30	10,720	5.90	171,538	3,412	1.98	1,000	294	29.74
Maryland.....	931,943	111,387	11.95	134,488	14.54	724,693	41,516	5.72	210,590	90,172	42.89
Massachusetts.....	1,783,085	75,635	4.24	92,980	5.21	1,763,782	90,658	5.14	19,303	2,322	12.03
Michigan.....	1,636,937	47,112	2.88	63,723	3.89	1,614,590	58,532	3.65	22,577	4,791	21.41
Minnesota.....	780,773	20,331	2.60	26,546	3.40	776,884	33,906	4.37	2,889	1,000	34.61
Mississippi.....	1,131,597	313,612	27.89	373,201	32.98	479,398	53,448	11.15	652,199	319,753	49.03
Missouri.....	2,168,398	138,818	6.40	208,754	9.63	2,022,826	152,510	7.54	145,554	56,244	38.64
Montana.....	39,159	1,530	3.91	1,707	4.36	35,285	631	1.78	3,771	1,076	28.51
Nebraska.....	452,402	7,890	1.74	11,528	2.55	440,764	10,020	2.28	2,538	602	23.82
Nevada.....	62,266	3,703	5.95	4,059	6.53	53,536	1,915	3.58	8,710	2,154	24.73
New Hampshire.....	316,991	11,982	3.78	11,302	3.57	346,229	14,208	4.10	762	94	12.34
New Jersey.....	1,131,110	39,136	3.46	53,249	4.71	1,092,017	44,049	4.03	39,099	9,200	23.53
New Mexico.....	119,565	52,994	44.32	67,156	56.19	108,721	49,597	45.62	10,844	7,556	69.71
New York.....	5,082,871	166,625	3.28	219,600	4.32	5,016,022	208,175	4.15	66,849	11,425	17.09
North Carolina.....	1,399,750	367,890	26.28	463,975	33.15	867,242	192,032	22.14	532,508	271,913	51.07
Ohio.....	3,198,062	86,754	2.71	131,847	4.12	3,117,920	115,491	3.70	80,142	16,356	20.41
Oregon.....	174,708	5,376	3.08	7,423	4.25	163,675	4,343	2.66	7,103	3,000	42.34
Pennsylvania.....	4,282,891	146,138	3.41	228,014	5.32	4,197,016	209,981	5.00	85,875	18,033	21.00
Rhode Island.....	276,531	17,450	6.31	24,793	8.97	260,930	23,544	8.72	6,592	1,249	18.95
South Carolina.....	995,577	321,790	32.32	369,818	37.15	591,165	99,777	16.88	694,472	310,671	51.30
Tennessee.....	1,542,739	214,385	13.89	310,722	20.13	1,198,931	216,433	18.09	403,228	194,465	48.20
Texas.....	1,591,749	256,223	16.10	316,432	19.88	1,197,237	123,912	10.35	394,512	192,520	48.80
Utah.....	143,963	4,851	3.37	8,826	6.13	142,423	8,137	5.71	1,080	689	64.74
Vermont.....	132,256	4,993	3.74	15,857	11.99	117,853	15,681	13.31	1,048	155	14.61
Virginia.....	1,542,595	360,495	23.39	420,352	27.25	1,141,632	154,632	13.54	631,797	315,660	49.95
Washington.....	75,116	3,191	4.25	3,889	5.18	67,199	1,429	2.13	7,917	2,460	31.07
West Virginia.....	618,457	52,041	8.41	85,876	13.89	592,537	75,237	12.70	25,920	10,139	39.12
Wisconsin.....	1,319,497	33,603	2.54	53,558	4.06	1,291,618	51,233	3.96	5,879	1,325	22.51
Wyoming.....	29,789	427	1.43	556	1.87	19,437	574	2.95	1,532	182	11.86
Total.....	50,153,783	4,293,451	8.57	6,239,958	12.44	43,402,970	3,019,080	6.96	6,752,813	3,220,878	47.70

DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR, CENSUS OFFICE,
Washington, D. C., February 26, 1884.

SIR: In response to your communication of this day, inclosing certain printed tables relating to the public schools and to the illiteracy of the United States by States, I beg to return the same, with such changes in the figures as are necessitated by the records of this office.

The columns of the table of illiteracy reading "Total colored population" should be altered to read "inclusive of Chinese, Japanese, and civilized Indians."

GEO. W. RICHARDS, Acting Superintendent.

Hon. ALBERT S. WILLES, M. C., House of Representatives.

TABLE 6.—*The total and illiterate population 10 years old and over, the white and illiterate white population of the same age, the colored and illiterate colored population of the same age, and the percentage of illiterates to population in each case and for each State and Territory.*

States and Territories.	[From the census of 1880.]		Per cent.	Number of whites, 10 years old and over.	White illiterates, 10 years old and over.	Per cent.	Number of colored, 10 years old and over.	Colored illiterates, 10 years old and over.	Per cent.
	Population, 10 years old and over.	Illiterates, 10 years old and over.							
Alabama.....	851,780	433,447	50.9	452,722	111,767	24.7	399,058	321,680	80.6
Arizona.....	531,576	202,015	38.0	353,965	98,542	27.8	177,971	103,473	58.2
Arkansas.....	681,962	133,229	19.5	592,229	26,090	4.4	99,693	27,340	27.4
California.....	138,220	10,474	7.6	155,456	9,906	6.4	2,764	568	20.5
Colorado.....	497,363	28,424	5.7	487,780	26,763	5.5	9,523	1,661	17.4
Connecticut.....	110,856	19,414	17.5	91,011	8,316	9.1	19,245	11,068	57.5
Delaware.....	116,698	16,912	14.5	120,160	8,316	6.9	26,448	11,068	41.8
District of Columbia.....	177,621	21,541	12.1	118,006	3,988	3.4	59,618	21,700	36.5
Florida.....	209,193	70,219	33.6	142,605	19,763	13.9	126,888	60,420	47.6
Georgia.....	1,013,810	520,416	51.3	503,977	128,934	25.9	479,863	391,482	81.6
Idaho.....	2,209,315	145,397	6.6	2,234,478	132,426	5.9	34,871	12,271	35.2
Illinois.....	1,468,695	110,761	7.5	1,438,955	100,398	7.0	29,140	10,363	35.6
Indiana.....	1,181,641	46,809	3.9	1,174,357	44,877	3.8	17,537	2,272	12.9
Iowa.....	704,297	39,476	5.6	673,121	24,888	3.7	31,176	11,588	37.2
Kansas.....	1,163,498	318,392	27.4	973,275	214,497	22.0	190,223	133,805	70.4
Kentucky.....	619,670	141,380	22.8	320,917	58,551	18.4	328,153	259,429	79.1
Louisiana.....	519,669	219,170	42.2	318,918	41,516	12.9	1,653	412	24.8
Maine.....	695,364	134,488	19.3	644,086	44,316	6.9	151,278	90,172	59.6
Maryland.....	1,432,183	122,980	8.6	1,416,767	90,658	6.4	15,416	2,322	15.1

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TABLE 6.—The total and illiterate population 10 years old or over, the white and illiterate white population of the same age, &c.—Continued.

States and Territories.	Population, 10 years old and over.	Illiterates, 10 years old and over.	Per cent.	Number of whites, 10 years old and over.	White illiterates, 10 years old and over.	Per cent.	Number of colored people, 10 years old and over.	Colored illiterates, 10 years old and over.	Per cent.
Michigan.....	1,236,686	63,723	5.2	1,219,906	58,932	4.8	16,780	4,791	28.5
Minnesota.....	559,977	34,546	6.2	557,183	33,506	6.0	2,794	1,040	37.2
Mississippi.....	753,653	373,201	49.5	328,296	58,448	18.0	425,357	319,753	75.2
Missouri.....	1,657,631	208,754	13.4	1,453,238	152,510	10.5	104,393	56,244	53.9
Nebraska.....	318,271	11,528	3.6	316,312	10,926	3.5	1,959	602	30.7
Nevada.....	50,666	4,069	8.0	42,995	1,915	4.5	8,071	2,154	26.7
New Hampshire.....	286,183	14,302	5.0	285,594	14,208	5.0	594	158	26.5
New Jersey.....	865,591	53,249	6.2	835,355	44,049	5.3	30,200	9,200	30.5
New York.....	3,951,428	219,600	5.5	3,927,603	208,175	5.3	53,825	11,425	21.2
North Carolina.....	959,951	463,975	48.3	608,806	192,032	31.5	351,145	271,943	77.4
Ohio.....	2,399,307	131,847	5.5	2,339,538	115,601	4.9	59,332	15,550	27.3
Oregon.....	130,585	7,422	5.7	119,482	4,433	3.6	11,083	3,080	27.8
Pennsylvania.....	3,203,215	228,014	7.1	3,136,561	209,981	6.7	66,654	18,033	27.1
Rhode Island.....	220,461	24,793	11.2	215,158	23,544	10.9	5,303	1,249	23.6
South Carolina.....	367,456	306,845	83.4	272,706	239,777	87.9	234,750	310,071	78.5
Tennessee.....	1,032,130	410,722	39.7	790,744	216,227	27.3	271,336	194,495	71.7
Texas.....	1,064,196	316,432	29.7	808,931	123,912	15.3	255,265	192,520	75.4
Vermont.....	264,052	15,337	6.0	263,245	15,681	6.0	807	196	24.3
Virginia.....	1,059,034	430,352	40.6	639,584	218,922	34.2	428,450	315,660	73.7
West Virginia.....	429,587	104,141	24.2	401,141	75,237	18.8	18,446	10,139	55.0
Wisconsin.....	965,712	58,558	6.1	961,433	54,233	5.6	4,279	1,325	31.0
Arizona.....	32,922	5,842	17.7	28,634	4,824	16.8	4,288	1,018	23.7
Dakota.....	99,849	4,821	4.8	98,348	3,157	3.2	1,501	464	31.2
District of Columbia.....	29,778	18,8	18.8	91,372	3,988	4.3	45,035	21,790	48.4
Idaho.....	25,005	1,778	7.1	21,481	784	3.6	3,524	994	28.2
Montana.....	31,989	1,707	5.3	28,986	631	2.2	3,003	1,076	35.8
New Mexico.....	87,966	57,156	65.0	92,688	47,907	51.7	8,130	7,559	92.9
Utah.....	97,134	8,823	9.1	50,876	8,137	16.0	1,318	639	48.5
Washington.....	55,720	3,889	7.0	49,269	1,429	2.9	6,451	2,460	38.2
Wyoming.....	16,479	556	3.4	15,240	374	2.5	1,239	182	14.7
Total.....	36,761,607	6,239,958	17.0	32,160,400	3,019,080	9.4	4,601,207	3,220,878	70.1

TABLE 7.—The white and colored adult males and the adult male illiterates of the two races, with percentages, for each State and Territory.

[From the census of 1880.]

States and Territories.	Total white male adults.	Illiterate white male adults.	Per cent.	Total colored male adults.	Illiterate colored male adults.	Per cent.
Alabama.....	141,461	24,450	17.3	118,423	96,408	81.4
Arkansas.....	136,150	21,349	15.7	46,827	34,300	73.2
California.....	262,533	12,615	4.8	66,509	10,857	16.3
Colorado.....	92,688	3,137	3.4	1,520	187	12.3
Connecticut.....	173,759	9,901	5.7	8,532	696	8.1
Delaware.....	31,902	2,555	8.0	6,396	3,787	59.2
Florida.....	34,210	4,706	13.8	27,489	19,110	69.5
Georgia.....	177,967	28,971	16.3	145,471	116,516	80.1
Illinois.....	783,161	44,886	5.7	13,686	5,271	38.5
Indiana.....	487,698	33,757	6.9	10,739	4,345	40.5
Iowa.....	413,633	16,202	3.9	9,025	1,001	11.1
Kansas.....	234,949	4,821	2.1	10,765	5,023	46.7
Kentucky.....	317,579	7,998	2.5	58,442	43,177	73.6
Louisiana.....	108,810	16,377	15.1	107,977	86,555	80.2
Maine.....	186,639	8,420	4.5	664	144	21.7
Maryland.....	183,523	15,152	8.3	48,584	30,873	63.5
Massachusetts.....	496,022	30,981	6.2	5,958	941	15.8
Michigan.....	461,557	26,330	5.7	6,139	1,852	30.2
Minnesota.....	212,399	12,372	5.8	1,552	364	23.5
Mississippi.....	108,254	12,473	11.5	130,278	99,068	76.0
Missouri.....	508,165	8,000	1.6	39,442	19,268	49.1
Nebraska.....	128,198	3,836	3.0	814	256	31.3
Nevada.....	25,633	1,173	4.6	5,622	42	0.8
New Hampshire.....	104,301	5,264	5.0	277	12	4.3
New Jersey.....	283,963	15,402	5.4	10,670	3,569	33.4
New York.....	1,388,692	76,745	5.5	20,659	4,521	22.0
North Carolina.....	189,732	44,420	23.4	105,018	80,282	76.4
Ohio.....	894,571	40,373	4.5	21,706	7,041	32.4
Oregon.....	91,636	3,137	3.4	1,000	295	29.5
Pennsylvania.....	1,070,392	65,985	6.2	23,822	6,845	28.6
Rhode Island.....	75,012	7,137	9.5	1,886	467	24.8
South Carolina.....	96,930	13,924	14.4	118,889	63,010	53.0
Tennessee.....	290,053	46,348	15.9	80,530	58,001	72.0
Texas.....	301,737	33,085	11.0	78,639	59,669	75.9
Vermont.....	95,307	6,731	7.1	314	82	26.1
Virginia.....	206,218	51,474	25.0	128,257	100,210	78.1
West Virginia.....	132,777	19,053	14.4	6,284	3,330	53.0
Wisconsin.....	338,562	21,221	6.3	1,550	474	30.6
Arizona.....	18,046	2,150	11.9	2,332	422	17.9
Dakota.....	50,962	1,678	3.3	641	210	32.8
District of Columbia.....	21,135	1,390	6.6	13,918	7,520	53.9
Idaho.....	11,669	319	2.7	3,126	860	27.8
Montana.....	19,630	410	2.1	1,908	483	25.3
New Mexico.....	30,281	14,898	49.2	5,065	2,779	54.8
Utah.....	97,134	2,137	2.2	605	396	65.5
Washington.....	24,251	612	2.6	3,419	1,126	32.9
Wyoming.....	9,241	160	1.7	939	84	8.9
Total.....	11,343,003	886,650	7.8	1,487,344	1,022,151	68.7

TABLE 8.—*Colored schools and colored-school enrollment in the Southern States for five years, from 1877 to 1881, both dates inclusive.*

[Prepared by the United States Bureau of Education.]

	1877.		1878.		1879.		1880.		1881.	
	Schools.	Enrollment.	Schools.	Enrollment.	Schools.	Enrollment.	Schools.	Enrollment.	Schools.	Enrollment.
Public schools.....	10,792	571,506	14,247	685,150	14,341	685,942	16,669	784,709	17,248	802,372
Normal schools.....	27	3,785	34	5,236	42	6,171	44	7,408	47	7,621
Schools for secondary instruction.....	23	2,807	28	5,290	42	5,297	36	5,237	34	5,284
Universities and colleges.....	13	1,270	15	1,630	16	1,593	15	1,717	17	2,303
Schools of theology.....	17	462	19	656	23	762	22	800	23	604
Schools of law.....	2	14	3	44	3	43	3	33	3	45
Schools of medicine.....	3	74	4	94	4	99	3	87	3	116
Schools for the blind and deaf-mutes.....	2	99	2	121	2	120	2	122	2	120
Total.....	10,879	580,017	14,472	668,181	14,472	700,366	16,793	800,113	17,375	818,365

TABLE 9.—*Giving the popular majorities received at the last three Presidential elections, and the number of illiterate voters as shown by the census of 1880.*

States and Territories.	Electoral vote, 1880.	Popular majority, 1872.	Popular majority, 1876.	Popular majority, 1880.	Illiterate voters, 1880.
Alabama.....	10	10,828	33,772	34,509	120,889
Arkansas.....	6	3,416	19,113	18,828	53,648
Delaware.....	3	422	2,029	1,033	6,742
Florida.....	4	2,336	6,626	4,310	23,816
Georgia.....	11	9,806	79,642	49,871	143,087
Kentucky.....	12	8,855	59,772	45,900	98,133
Louisiana.....	10	14,631	64,027	37,316	162,938
Maryland.....	8	908	19,796	15,191	46,025
Mississippi.....	8	34,887	50,568	40,896	111,541
Missouri.....	15	29,809	54,389	55,042	79,683
North Carolina.....	10	34,673	17,010	8,325	124,702
South Carolina.....	7	49,400	964	54,241	106,934
Tennessee.....	12	8,736	43,600	20,514	105,549
Texas.....	9	16,595	49,955	98,383	92,754
Virginia.....	11	1,772	44,112	48,956	131,684
West Virginia.....	5	2,264	12,384	11,148	22,885
	138				
California.....	6	12,234	2,738	78	29,472
Colorado.....	3			2,800	3,916
Connecticut.....	6	4,848	1,712	2,655	10,197
Illinois.....	21	53,348	19,030	47,716	49,807
Indiana.....	15	21,098	5,515	6,636	38,102
Iowa.....	11	58,149	50,191	78,000	17,211
Kansas.....	9	33,482	32,511	61,000	13,621
Maine.....	7	22,333	15,314	8,868	8,964
Massachusetts.....	13	74,212	40,423	53,245	31,892
Michigan.....	11	55,968	15,542	53,890	28,182
Minnesota.....	10	20,694	21,780	40,588	12,736
Nebraska.....	3	10,517	10,326	29,496	4,062
Nevada.....	3	2,177	1,075	879	2,367
New Hampshire.....	5	5,444	2,954	4,058	5,306
New Jersey.....	9	14,570	11,690	2,010	19,402
New York.....	35	51,800	26,968	21,633	81,966
Ohio.....	22	34,268	7,500	34,227	47,414
Oregon.....	3	3,517	5,967	671	8,674
Pennsylvania.....	29	135,918	9,375	37,276	72,830
Rhode Island.....	4	8,336	4,947	7,416	7,624
Vermont.....	5	29,961	33,838	27,000	6,813
Wisconsin.....	10	17,686	5,205	29,763	21,695
	231				

a Or 94.

b Or 5,303.

The Southern States, seventeen in number, including the District of Columbia, are usually classed together as a section of the country requiring special help. Of all but Maryland, Missouri, and the District of Columbia this is true. The following table exhibits their condition:

TABLE 10.—*Comparative statistics of education at the South.*

States,	White.			Colored.			Total expenditure for both races, a.
	School population.	Enrollment.	Per cent. of school population enrolled.	School population.	Enrollment.	Per cent. of school population enrolled.	
Alabama.....	217,590	107,483	49	170,413	72,007	42	\$375,465
Arkansas.....	618,799	233,229	38	654,332	217,743	33	238,036
Delaware.....	31,965	80	0.25	3,984	70	1.76	297,281
Florida.....	416,410	118,871	28	447,099	120,444	27	114,895
Georgia.....	423,319	150,131	35	419,125	86,399	21	471,029
Kentucky.....	478,597	241,679	50	466,564	223,902	48	893,199
Louisiana.....	413,661	241,052	58	413,184	234,476	57	450,520

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TABLE 10.—Comparative statistics of education at the South.—Continued.

States.	White.			Colored.			Total expenditure for both races. ^d
	School population.	Enrollment.	Per cent. of school population enrolled.	School population.	Enrollment.	Per cent. of school population enrolled.	
Maryland.....	7213,669	134,210	63	763,591	28,221	44	\$1,544,267
Mississippi.....	175,251	112,994	64	251,438	123,710	49	860,704
Missouri.....	681,995	454,218	67	41,489	22,158	53	3,152,178
North Carolina.....	291,770	136,481	47	167,554	89,125	53	352,882
South Carolina.....	408,515	61,219	73	72,853	32,424	56	524,629
Tennessee.....	404,353	229,290	57	141,599	60,331	43	724,382
Texas.....	1,171,426	138,912	81	162,015	47,874	77	753,346
Virginia.....	314,827	152,136	48	240,980	68,600	28	946,109
West Virginia.....	202,364	138,779	68	7,749	4,071	53	716,564
District of Columbia.....	29,612	16,364	55	13,946	9,565	68	453,907
Total.....	3,899,961	2,215,674	.....	1,803,257	754,790	.....	12,475,044

^a In Delaware the colored public schools have been supported by the school tax collected from colored citizens only; recently, however, they have received an appropriation of \$2,400 from the State; in Kentucky the school tax collected from colored citizens is the only State appropriation for the support of colored schools; in Maryland there is a biennial appropriation by the Legislature; in the District of Columbia one third of the school money is set apart for colored public schools, and in the other States mentioned above the school moneys are divided in proportion to the school population, without regard to race. ^b Several counties failed to make race distinctions. ^c Estimated. ^d In 1879. ^e For whites the school age is 5 to 20; for colored 6 to 16. ^f Census of 1870. ^g In 1877. ^h These numbers include some duplicates; the actual school population is 230,827.

Excluding the States of Maryland and Missouri and the District of Columbia, and the total yearly expenditure for both races is only \$7,339,932, while in the whole country the annual expenditure is, from taxation \$70,341,435, and from school funds \$6,550,633, or a total of \$76,922,067 (see tables 2 and 7), or one-tenth of the whole, while they contain one-fifth of the school population. The causes which have produced this state of things in the Southern States are far less important than the facts themselves as they now exist. To find a remedy and to apply it is the only duty which devolves upon us. Without universal education not only will the late war prove to be a failure, but the abolition of slavery be proved to be a tremendous disaster, if not a crime.

TABLE 11.—Population and assessed valuation of personal property and real estate in the United States, from census reports for 1860, 1870, and 1880.

States and Territories.	1860.		1870.		1880.		Increase, per cent., 1860 to 1880.	
	Population.	Assessed valuation.	Population.	Assessed valuation.	Population.	Assessed valuation.		
Alabama.....	964,201	432,198,762	996,962	155,582,595	1,262,505	122,867,228	31	-72
Arizona.....			9,658	1,410,295	40,440	9,270,214		
Arkansas.....	435,459	180,211,330	484,471	94,228,843	802,525	86,409,364	84	-52
California.....	379,994	133,651,667	590,247	269,614,068	864,894	584,578,036	128	319
Colorado.....	54,277	39,864	17,338	74,271,693	194,327	14,471,693	497	
Connecticut.....	460,147	341,236,976	425,433	327,700	527,470	327,177,335	35	
Dakota.....	4,837		14,181	2,924,489	135,177	20,321,530	2,695	
Delaware.....	115,216	39,797,223	125,015	64,787,223	146,068	59,951,643	31	51
District of Columbia.....	75,080	41,684,646	131,700	74,271,693	177,624	96,401,787	137	142
Florida.....	149,424	68,929,685	181,748	32,480,843	269,493	30,933,209	92	-55
Georgia.....	1,057,286	618,232,387	1,184,109	227,219,519	1,542,180	239,472,999	46	-61
Idaho.....			14,199	5,294,205	32,610	6,440,876		
Illinois.....	1,711,931	389,207,372	2,539,891	482,390,575	3,077,371	786,616,394	80	192
Indiana.....	1,350,428	411,042,424	1,680,637	663,465,044	1,978,301	727,815,131	46	77
Iowa.....	674,913	205,166,983	1,194,020	302,515,418	1,624,015	398,671,251	141	94
Kansas.....	107,206	22,518,332	364,399	92,123,861	996,096	160,861,689	829	615
Kentucky.....	1,185,684	528,212,093	1,321,011	408,544,294	1,648,650	350,568,971	43	-34
Louisiana.....	708,002	435,787,265	726,015	253,371,890	939,946	160,162,493	33	-63
Maine.....	628,279	154,380,288	626,915	204,233,780	648,036	235,978,716	3	53
Maryland.....	687,049	297,135,238	780,894	428,834,918	934,943	497,307,675	36	67
Massachusetts.....	1,291,966	777,197,816	1,783,083	1,242,988,112	1,783,083	1,874,756,402	45	104
Michigan.....	749,113	163,533,065	1,184,059	272,242,917	1,636,937	517,884,359	119	217
Minnesota.....	172,023	32,018,773	439,706	84,135,332	789,773	258,028,667	354	706
Mississippi.....	791,305	509,472,912	827,922	177,278,890	1,131,587	110,628,129	43	-78
Missouri.....	1,182,012	266,958,851	1,721,295	559,199,969	2,168,380	522,735,801	83	100
Montana.....			20,565	9,943,411	30,159	18,609,802		
Nebraska.....	28,841	7,426,949	122,932	54,584,616	452,402	90,583,782	1,459	1,120
Nevada.....	6,857		42,491	23,740,973	62,266	29,291,459	808	
New Hampshire.....	328,620	125,810,303	315,300	245,029,259	346,961	184,259,602	6	133
New Jersey.....	672,053	296,682,492	906,096	624,368,971	1,131,116	572,515,361	68	93
New Mexico.....	93,516	20,838,780	91,874	17,784,014	119,505	11,363,406	28	-45
New York.....	3,880,735	1,390,464,638	4,882,759	1,967,601,185	5,082,871	2,631,940,066	31	91
North Carolina.....	328,620	292,397,662	1,071,361	1,399,750	1,399,750	126,194,272	41	-47
Ohio.....	2,339,511	959,867,101	2,665,260	1,167,731,697	3,198,062	1,534,269,508	27	170
Oregon.....	52,465	19,024,915	90,923	31,798,510	174,768	52,322,054	233	60
Pennsylvania.....	2,906,215	719,253,333	3,521,951	1,813,236,042	4,282,891	1,683,439,016	47	154
Rhode Island.....	174,620	125,104,303	247,333	241,268,814	276,531	222,536,673	58	102
South Carolina.....	703,708	489,319,128	705,606	183,913,337	995,577	133,500,133	41	-73
Tennessee.....	1,109,801	382,495,200	1,258,520	253,782,161	1,642,339	211,778,538	39	-45
Texas.....	694,215	267,792,333	818,579	149,732,929	1,591,749	320,364,515	103	20
Utah.....	40,722	4,138,020	86,786	125,985,842	145,963	19,022,705	237	496
Vermont.....	315,698	84,758,619	330,551	102,548,528	332,256	86,896,775	6	2
Virginia.....	1,956,318	657,024,336	1,512,565	363,439,916	1,512,565	308,453,135	c84	c82
Washington.....	11,594	4,394,733	23,995	10,642,893	73,110	23,816,693	548	412
West Virginia.....			412,014	149,538,273	615,457	149,538,273		
Wisconsin.....	775,851	185,945,450	1,054,670	332,209,838	1,315,497	438,971,751	70	136
Wyoming.....			9,118	5,516,748	20,789	13,621,829		
Total.....	31,443,321	12,064,500,005	38,553,371	14,178,986,732	50,153,783	19,902,755,893	d60	d40

^a Per cent. preceded by the minus sign indicates a decrease. ^b In Pennsylvania occupations are also valued for assessment. This valuation for 1880 was \$68,659,580. ^c Virginia and West Virginia are taken together, as West Virginia belonged to Virginia in 1850. ^d Average for the United States.

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In this connection it is proper to observe that in the States where slavery existed in 1860 the valuation then aggregated \$2,289,029,642, of which \$842,927,400 was in slaves, and proper allowance must be made for this fact in estimating present power to bear taxation. The negroes were then taxed; they were productive as property. Now they require

to be educated; then education would have destroyed them as property. They are now doing little more as a totality than to support themselves. Their taxable property is thus far very slight.

The following table gives the actual taxation for the support of schools in the year 1880:

TABLE 12.—Amount raised by taxation for support of public schools in each State and Territory during the year 1880.

[Prepared by Bureau of Education, at request of H. W. BLAIR.]

States and Territories.	Amount received from taxation.		
	From State tax.	From local tax.	Total.
Alabama.....	\$130,000	\$120,000	\$250,000
Arkansas.....	611,695	77,475	189,080
California.....	1,318,209	1,393,572	2,711,781
Colorado.....		836,333	636,333
Connecticut.....	210,353	1,066,314	1,276,667
Delaware.....		4151,045	4151,045
Florida.....	(140,530)		104,530
Georgia.....	\$345,790	125,239	471,029
Illinois.....	1,000,000	5,735,478	6,735,478
Indiana.....	1,456,334	72,108,302	73,564,636
Iowa.....	4,227,300	4,227,300	4,227,300
Kansas.....		1,276,786	1,276,786
Kentucky.....	533,354	932,038	917,392
Louisiana.....	356,000	1,450,000	1,450,000
Maine.....	224,565	596,295	820,860
Maryland.....	491,406	721,571	1,212,977
Massachusetts.....	4,372,286	4,372,286	4,372,286
Michigan.....	373,758	2,074,073	2,447,831
Minnesota.....	257,689	1,073,377	1,331,066
Mississippi.....	334,769		334,769
Missouri.....	2,103,330		2,103,330
Montana.....	73,808		73,808
Nebraska.....			
Nevada.....			
New Hampshire.....			544,716
New Jersey.....	1,017,755	724,413	1,742,168
New York.....	2,750,000	6,925,992	9,675,992
North Carolina.....	(314,719)		314,719
Ohio.....	1,558,207	5,155,879	6,714,086
Oregon.....	133,477	79,562	213,039
Pennsylvania.....		7,064,116	7,064,116
Rhode Island.....	80,800	414,852	495,652
South Carolina.....			440,110
Tennessee.....			7698,776
Texas.....		5678,603	5678,603
Vermont.....	113,173	304,318	417,491
Virginia.....	596,516	665,459	1,261,975
West Virginia.....	212,753	490,432	703,185
Wisconsin.....	1,235,830	2,223,331	3,459,161
Arizona.....			7697,023
Dakota.....		123,643	123,643
District of Columbia.....		474,556	474,556
Idaho.....		48,017	48,017
Indian Territory.....			
Montana.....	664,643	5,256	69,899
New Mexico.....			
Utah.....		63,041	63,041
Washington.....	1,102,201	73,319	1,175,520
Wyoming.....		77,056	77,056
Total.....	(410,249) 14,287,570	53,913,986	670,371,435

a From poll-tax. b State apportionment, which here probably includes the income of the State school fund for 1880, the State tax, and so much of the ordinary State revenues as may be set apart for the purpose by the Legislature. c From county and district tax, fines, &c. d This amount raised for better schools. e This includes rental of State railroad (\$150,000). f In 1879. g Includes tax on billiards and dogs. h Estimated. i From township tax. j Includes income from permanent fund. k State appropriation. l Special for building purposes. m Total income as reported for 1880, the greater part of which comes from Territorial, county, and district taxes. n From county tax. o Includes \$1,750,630 reported as derived from taxation and given in the column of totals but not appearing in the first two columns.

Table No. 12 gives the amount received in each State from interest on funds and rent of lands. The total from taxation is \$70,371,435 from funds and rents, \$6,580,632; total, \$76,952,067.

TABLE 13.—Rate of tax for school purposes in various cities.

[Mills per dollar of assessed valuation.]

	Mills.		Mills.
Little Rock, Ark.....	5	Manchester, N. H.....	2.7
New Haven, Conn.....	3	New Brunswick, N. J.....	2.54
Columbus, Ga.....	2.97	Brooklyn, N. Y.....	1.12
Baton, La.....	9	New York, N. Y.....	2.84
Chicago, Ill.....	9.5	Poughkeepsie, N. Y.....	2.2
Quincy, Ill.....	6.4	Rochester, N. Y.....	3.58
Rock Island, Ill.....	30	Syracuse, N. Y.....	8
Fort Wayne, Ind.....	2.6	St. Louis, Mo.....	8
Indianapolis, Ind.....	2	Harrisburg, Pa.....	13
Louisville, Ky.....	3	Pottsville, Pa.....	8
Newport, Ky.....	3	Newport, R. I.....	3
New Orleans, La.....	1.9	Charles City, Va.....	3
Bangor, Me.....	2.45	Knoxville, Tenn.....	2.25
Lewiston, Me.....	1.03	Memphis, Tenn.....	2.5
Baltimore, Md.....	1.52	Nashville, Tenn.....	2
Boston, Mass.....	2.4	Galveston, Tex.....	2
Lowell, Mass.....	2.9	Alexandria, Va.....	2.8
Springfield, Mass.....	2.9	Norfolk, Va.....	1
Wicksburg, Miss.....	4	Richmond, Va.....	7.37
Kansas City, Mo.....	4	Wheeling, W. Va.....	7
Saint Louis, Mo.....	5		

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TABLE 14.—Showing the population, total assessed valuation of property, total taxation, per capita of valuation, per capita of taxation, rate of taxation, total indebtedness, per capita of indebtedness, by States and Territories, drawn from the census of 1880.

States and Territories.	Population.	Total assessed valuation of property.	Total taxation.	Per capita of valuation.	Per capita of taxation.	Rate of taxation.	Total indebtedness.	Per capita of indebtedness.
Alabama.....	1,262,565	\$122,867,228	\$2,061,978	\$97 32	\$1 63	.016	\$14,728,545	\$11 66
Arkansas.....	802,525	86,409,364	1,839,090	107 67	2 29	.021	7,938,784	9 89
California.....	861,694	581,578,036	12,628,005	676 09	14 72	.021	16,755,638	19 57
Colorado.....	194,227	74,471,608	2,032,008	383 29	11 07	.028	3,564,248	18 49
Connecticut.....	622,700	327,177,355	5,365,739	525 41	8 61	.016	23,601,681	35 33
Delaware.....	146,608	59,951,643	604,257	408 92	4 12	.01	2,316,553	16 05
Florida.....	363,493	30,938,309	665,180	114 80	8 25	.019	2,626,509	9 74
Georgia.....	1,542,180	239,472,599	2,207,698	153 28	2 07	.013	16,681,903	12 75
Illinois.....	3,077,871	786,616,394	19,283,413	255 57	6 26	.024	14,912,422	14 27
Indiana.....	1,978,301	727,815,131	10,843,630	367 90	5 48	.014	18,334,737	9 27
Iowa.....	1,621,615	398,671,251	10,261,003	245 39	6 31	.025	7,902,767	4 90
KANSAS.....	966,046	160,861,689	4,414,221	161 52	4 43	.027	16,665,853	18 06
Kentucky.....	1,645,690	350,563,971	5,204,017	212 63	3 15	.014	14,977,881	9 08
Louisiana.....	939,946	169,162,439	4,395,876	170 39	4 67	.027	23,805,952	25 60
Maine.....	648,936	235,978,716	5,182,135	363 64	7 98	.021	22,406,550	34 52
Maryland.....	931,942	407,307,675	5,457,462	531 91	8 81	.01	10,806,636	11 65
Massachusetts.....	1,783,083	1,581,756,802	24,326,877	888 77	13 64	.015	91,283,013	51 19
Michigan.....	1,036,937	517,666,359	8,627,949	316 24	5 27	.016	8,803,144	5 37
Minnesota.....	789,773	258,628,687	8,713,767	330 47	4 75	.015	8,476,064	10 83
Mississippi.....	1,151,597	110,628,129	2,384,475	97 73	6 00	.021	2,613,190	17 77
Missouri.....	2,168,390	532,795,891	10,269,736	245 71	4 73	.019	57,487,381	26 51
Nebraska.....	432,402	90,889,782	2,792,480	200 23	6 17	.03	7,425,787	16 41
Nevada.....	62,266	29,291,459	871,678	470 42	13 99	.029	1,024,525	16 45
New Hampshire.....	346,991	164,735,181	2,697,640	443 11	7 77	.016	10,724,170	30 93
New Jersey.....	2,131,116	572,518,361	8,988,065	505 26	7 61	.015	49,547,192	43 80
New York.....	5,082,871	2,651,940,066	56,392,975	521 54	11 09	.021	218,723,314	43 03
North Carolina.....	1,399,750	156,106,102	1,916,132	111 52	1 36	.012	8,194,606	5 85
Ohio.....	3,108,002	1,324,390,508	23,756,638	479 77	8 03	.021	48,758,154	13 24
Oregon.....	174,768	52,522,084	1,113,942	300 52	6 37	.021	848,592	4 85
Pennsylvania.....	4,282,801	1,683,459,016	28,604,334	393 06	6 67	.016	114,034,759	26 62
Rhode Island.....	276,531	252,536,673	2,692,715	913 22	9 73	.01	13,102,790	47 38
South Carolina.....	905,577	133,569,135	1,839,083	134 15	1 80	.01	1,915,577	2 13
Tennessee.....	1,542,359	211,778,538	2,783,781	137 37	1 80	.013	37,387,900	24 24
Texas.....	1,591,749	320,364,515	4,568,716	201 26	2 87	.014	11,604,913	7 20
Vermont.....	352,936	86,896,775	1,745,111	261 24	5 22	.02	4,352,168	34 92
Virginia.....	1,912,565	398,435,133	4,642,292	263 92	8 07	.015	45,690,832	27 83
West Virginia.....	618,457	139,622,705	2,056,979	225 76	3 32	.014	1,513,421	2 44
Wisconsin.....	1,315,497	438,971,751	5,838,325	333 69	4 43	.013	11,876,992	9 02
Alaska.....	40,449	9,279,214	293,636	473 23	9 89	.02	759,925	19 40
Arizona.....	119,565	11,363,406	126,942	950 39	1 06	.011	84,872	70
Utah.....	143,963	24,775,279	455,238	172 09	8 02	.017	116,351	80
Washington.....	75,116	23,810,669	505,417	316 98	6 72	.021	259,611	3 18
Wyoming.....	20,789	13,621,329	230,228	655 24	11 67	.016	203,462	9 88

TABLE 15.—Showing assessed valuation of real and personal property; total population by States, groups, and grand total; also average valuation per capita for the several States and groups.

States.	Total assessed valuation.	Total population.	Valuation per capita.
NEW ENGLAND STATES.			
Maine.....	\$235,978,716	648,936	\$363
New Hampshire.....	164,755,181	346,991	474
Vermont.....	86,896,775	352,936	243
Massachusetts.....	1,584,756,802	1,783,083	888
Rhode Island.....	252,536,673	276,531	912
Connecticut.....	327,177,355	622,700	525
Totals for the group.....	2,652,011,532	4,010,529	661
SOUTHERN STATES.			
Virginia.....	308,455,135	1,512,565	203
North Carolina.....	139,622,705	1,183,497	225
South Carolina.....	156,106,202	1,399,750	111
Georgia.....	133,569,135	1,912,565	134
Florida.....	239,472,599	1,542,180	155
Alabama.....	30,938,309	269,493	114
Louisiana.....	122,867,228	1,262,565	97
Mississippi.....	110,628,129	1,151,597	97
Texas.....	161,162,439	939,946	170
Kentucky.....	320,364,515	1,591,749	201
Tennessee.....	86,409,364	802,525	107
Totals for the group.....	2,870,923,266	15,287,393	155
WESTERN STATES.			
Ohio.....	1,534,360,508	3,198,062	479
Indiana.....	727,815,131	1,978,301	367
Illinois.....	786,616,394	3,077,871	255
Michigan.....	517,666,359	1,036,937	316

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TABLE 15.—*Showing assessed valuation of real and personal property, totals, &c.—Continued.*

States.	Total assessed valuation.	Total population.	Valuation per capita.
Wisconsin.....	\$438,971,751	1,315,497	\$333
Iowa.....	308,071,251	1,624,615	245
Minnesota.....	238,023,687	730,773	330
Missouri.....	532,795,801	2,168,380	245
Kansas.....	160,891,689	996,096	161
Nebraska.....	90,585,732	432,402	200
Colorado.....	74,471,033	194,327	372
Nevada.....	29,291,459	62,266	469
Oregon.....	52,522,081	174,768	300
California.....	584,578,035	864,694	676
Totals for the group.....	6,187,266,625	18,524,989	334
MIDDLE STATES.			
New York.....	2,651,940,006	5,082,871	521
New Jersey.....	572,518,361	1,131,116	506
Pennsylvania.....	1,633,459,016	4,282,891	393
Delaware.....	59,351,543	145,608	409
Maryland.....	497,307,675	931,943	531
District of Columbia.....	99,401,787	177,624	559
Totals for the group.....	5,561,578,488	11,756,053	473
TERRITORIES.			
Arizona.....	9,270,214	40,440	226
Dakota.....	20,321,530	135,177	150
Idaho.....	6,444,876	32,610	197
Montana.....	18,069,802	39,159	475
New Mexico.....	11,363,408	119,565	95
Utah.....	24,775,279	143,903	173
Washington.....	23,810,093	75,116	316
Wyoming.....	13,621,829	20,789	655
Totals for the group.....	128,213,629	606,819	211
Grand totals.....	16,902,993,543	50,155,783	337

TABLE 16.—*Changes in assessed valuation of property in Southern States, 1870-'80.*

States.	Assessed valuation in 1870.	Assessed valuation in 1880.	Increase.	Decrease.	Increase in population.		
					White.	Colored.	Total. ^a
Virginia.....	\$365,439,917	\$308,455,135	.....	\$56,984,782	163,769	118,775	282,544
West Virginia.....	140,839,273	129,622,705	.....	11,216,568	168,504	7,905	176,445
North Carolina.....	130,378,622	156,100,202	25,721,580	.....	183,772	130,627	328,389
South Carolina.....	183,913,337	133,560,135	.....	50,353,202	104,438	188,518	289,971
Georgia.....	227,219,519	239,472,599	12,253,080	.....	177,980	179,991	358,971
Florida.....	32,480,843	50,935,399	.....	1,545,534	46,438	85,601	81,745
Alabama.....	155,682,565	122,867,228	.....	32,715,367	140,801	124,593	265,513
Mississippi.....	177,278,800	110,628,129	.....	66,650,761	96,502	206,060	303,675
Louisiana.....	253,271,890	160,162,439	.....	93,209,451	92,880	119,415	213,091
Texas.....	119,732,929	320,364,515	170,631,586	.....	632,567	134,569	773,170
Arkansas.....	94,528,843	86,409,364	.....	8,119,479	229,416	88,497	318,554
Kentucky.....	409,544,294	350,563,971	.....	58,980,323	278,487	49,241	327,679
Tennessee.....	293,782,161	211,778,538	.....	42,003,623	202,712	80,820	283,839
.....	.....	.....	b 202,868,814	.....	.....	.....	.....
.....	2,573,792,113	2,370,923,262	208,606,246	411,475,090	2,525,355	1,478,413	4,606,982

^a This total includes the white, colored, 686 Chinese, 1 Japanese, and 2,527 civilized Indians. ^b Net decrease.

TABLE 17.—*School-district indebtedness.*

NOTE.—The officials in some States and Territories, in reporting school-district indebtedness, made no division into bonded debt and floating debt. In such cases the whole amount is entered as floating debt. In the States and Territories having no indebtedness the school-district system does not exist, or exists only for administrative purposes.

States.	Bonded debt.	Floating debt.	Total.
NEW ENGLAND STATES.			
Maine.....	.....	\$80,034	\$80,034
New Hampshire.....	.....	65,607	65,607
Vermont.....	.....	157,278	157,278
Massachusetts.....	.....	.....	.....
Rhode Island.....	.....	181,496	181,496
Connecticut.....	.....	683,910	683,910
Total.....	.....	1,168,295	1,168,295
MIDDLE STATES.			
New York.....	\$417,904	162,529	580,433
New Jersey.....	697,627	286	697,907
Pennsylvania.....	2,451,548	4,414	2,455,962
Delaware.....	4,222	4,222
Maryland.....
District of Columbia.....
Total.....	3,567,079	171,445	3,738,524

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TABLE 17.—School-district indebtedness—Continued.

States.	Bonded debt.	Floating debt.	Total.
SOUTHERN STATES.			
Virginia.....		\$90,588	\$90,588
West Virginia.....	\$28,132	15,426	43,558
North Carolina.....			
South Carolina.....			
Georgia.....			
Florida.....			
Alabama.....			
Mississippi.....			
Louisiana.....			
Texas.....			
Arkansas.....			
Kentucky.....			
Tennessee.....			
Total.....	28,132	122,402	150,534
WESTERN STATES.			
Ohio.....	1,452,199		1,452,199
Indiana.....		8,406,206	8,406,206
Illinois.....	1,298,592	96,081	1,394,673
Michigan.....		276,567	276,567
Wisconsin.....	1,125,188	30,727	1,155,915
Iowa.....	640,748		640,748
Minnesota.....		746,784	746,784
Missouri.....	1,749,357	29,151	1,778,508
Kansas.....		827,611	827,611
Nebraska.....		328,468	328,468
Colorado.....		1,506	1,506
Nevada.....		26,585	26,585
Oregon.....		577,963	577,963
California.....			
Total.....	6,261,081	6,167,779	12,428,860
THE TERRITORIES.			
Arizona.....	13,000		13,000
Dakota.....		696	696
Idaho.....		33,352	33,352
Montana.....			
New Mexico.....			
Utah.....			
Washington.....			
Wyoming.....			
Total.....	13,000	36,248	49,248
The United States.....	9,869,242	7,666,169	17,535,411

TABLE 18.—Valuation and taxation.

States.	Assessed valuation.			Taxation.				
	Real estate.	Personal property.	Total.	School.	Other purposes.	Total.	Per cent of school on total.	Rate of taxation on \$100.
NEW ENGLAND STATES.								
Maine.....	\$173,856,242	\$62,122,474	\$235,978,716	\$337,525	\$4,244,610	\$5,182,135	18.0	\$2.19
New Hampshire.....	122,733,124	42,022,057	164,755,181	516,449	2,181,191	2,697,640	19.1	1.63
Vermont.....	71,436,623	15,370,152	86,806,775	429,706	1,315,405	1,745,111	24.6	2.01
Massachusetts.....	1,111,133,072	473,596,730	1,584,729,802	4,953,428	19,371,449	24,324,877	20.3	1.53
Rhode Island.....	188,234,459	64,312,211	252,546,670	411,903	2,280,722	2,692,625	18.3	1.06
Connecticut.....	228,791,267	98,386,118	327,177,385	1,276,111	4,089,628	5,365,739	23.7	1.64
Total.....	1,896,201,787	755,809,745	2,652,011,532	8,527,212	33,483,006	42,010,217	20.2	1.58
MIDDLE STATES.								
New York.....	2,329,252,359	322,657,647	2,651,910,006	10,466,532	45,926,423	56,392,955	18.5	2.12
New Jersey.....	442,632,638	123,885,722	566,518,361	1,742,301	7,215,864	8,958,165	19.4	1.36
Pennsylvania.....	1,540,007,957	143,151,059	1,683,159,016	6,298,408	22,205,926	28,504,334	22.0	1.69
Delaware.....	50,202,739	9,648,904	59,851,643	132,408	471,849	604,257	21.9	1.00
Maryland.....	368,442,913	128,864,762	497,307,675	1,218,413	4,219,019	5,437,432	22.4	1.09
District of Columbia.....	87,850,356	11,421,911	99,272,267	(a)	1,469,251	1,469,251	(a)	1.47
Total.....	4,813,648,962	745,929,526	5,564,578,488	19,858,012	81,608,355	101,466,347	19.5	1.82
SOUTHERN STATES.								
Virginia.....	233,601,599	74,853,536	308,455,135	1,125,028	3,517,174	4,642,202	24.2	1.50
West Virginia.....	105,000,306	34,622,399	139,622,705	752,763	1,304,215	2,056,979	36.5	1.47
North Carolina.....	101,709,826	54,399,876	156,109,702	533,729	1,570,412	2,104,141	19.0	1.22
South Carolina.....	77,461,670	56,098,465	133,560,135	425,623	1,416,869	1,842,492	21.9	1.48
Georgia.....	139,933,941	99,488,693	239,422,634	387,818	2,819,190	3,207,008	12.0	1.33
Florida.....	18,885,151	12,053,158	30,938,309	109,146	496,034	605,180	18.0	1.95
Alabama.....	77,374,008	45,498,220	122,872,228	290,147	1,804,831	2,094,978	12.6	1.67
Mississippi.....	79,469,539	61,158,599	140,628,138	471,903	1,909,593	2,381,475	19.8	2.15
Louisiana.....	122,362,207	37,806,142	160,168,349	545,654	3,850,222	4,395,876	12.4	2.74
Texas.....	205,908,924	114,855,591	320,764,515	549,827	4,018,889	4,568,716	12.0	1.42
Arkansas.....	55,769,388	30,648,976	86,418,364	558,790	1,280,390	1,839,090	30.3	2.12
Kentucky.....	265,983,979	55,478,983	321,462,962	1,109,623	4,691,903	5,801,526	21.9	1.48
Tennessee.....	195,644,200	16,184,338	211,828,538	928,609	1,860,172	2,788,781	33.2	1.31
Total.....	1,677,847,243	693,076,021	2,370,923,264	7,571,563	29,935,854	37,507,417	20.1	1.58
WESTERN STATES.								
Ohio.....	1,093,677,705	440,682,803	1,534,360,508	6,954,053	18,802,605	25,756,658	26.9	1.67
Indiana.....	538,683,239	189,131,892	727,815,131	3,394,442	8,949,183	12,343,625	27.4	1.69

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TABLE 18.—*Valuation and taxation*—Continued.

States.	Assessed valuation.			Taxation.			
	Real estate.	Personal property.	Total.	School.	Other purposes.	Total.	Per cent. of school of total.
Illinois.....	575,141,053	211,175,311	786,316,364	6,329,680	18,256,338	24,586,018	25.7
Michigan.....	432,861,884	84,894,475	517,666,359	2,524,164	6,103,785	8,627,949	28.2
Wisconsin.....	314,788,721	91,183,030	438,971,751	1,906,489	5,681,836	7,588,325	25.1
Iowa.....	297,254,342	101,416,900	398,671,241	1,113,576	6,948,029	11,061,605	37.1
Minnesota.....	298,416,781	54,581,906	353,028,687	1,331,526	3,014,774	4,346,300	36.6
Missouri.....	381,985,112	150,816,689	532,795,801	2,496,197	7,773,539	10,269,736	24.3
Kansas.....	108,432,019	52,459,610	160,891,629	1,118,859	3,890,791	4,979,650	22.4
Nebraska.....	55,973,672	35,512,407	90,585,782	769,860	2,022,680	2,792,480	27.5
Colorado.....	33,694,197	82,487,496	74,471,693	424,628	1,727,889	2,152,608	19.7
Nevada.....	17,941,630	11,350,429	29,291,459	122,048	749,625	871,673	14.0
Oregon.....	32,584,906	19,937,118	52,522,024	224,932	889,010	1,113,942	20.1
California.....	466,273,883	118,304,451	584,578,336	2,769,787	9,918,218	12,688,005	21.4
Total.....	4,584,048,039	1,603,218,586	6,187,266,625	34,420,181	94,697,798	129,117,979	26.6
THE TERRITORIES.							
Arizona.....	3,922,961	5,347,253	9,270,214	49,667	213,369	293,036	16.9
Dakota.....	13,333,918	6,987,612	20,321,530	102,714	375,352	478,066	21.4
Idaho.....	2,497,535	4,113,350	6,440,876	36,380	159,507	195,887	15.5
Montana.....	5,077,102	13,532,640	18,609,802	83,968	299,949	383,917	21.8
New Mexico.....	4,788,764	6,574,642	11,363,406	34,748	92,194	126,942	27.3
Utah.....	14,779,344	9,993,935	24,773,279	141,651	293,587	435,238	25.5
Washington.....	11,335,923	12,474,770	23,810,693	111,091	394,326	505,417	21.9
Wyoming.....	4,485,291	9,136,638	13,621,929	34,294	155,934	290,228	14.8
Total.....	60,020,880	68,192,740	128,213,620	594,433	2,054,218	2,648,761	22.4
The United States.....	13,036,766,925	3,866,226,618	16,902,993,543	70,971,511	241,779,210	312,750,721	22.6

a No tax for the support of schools separate from other taxes is levied, but the expenses of the schools, amounting to \$433,567, are paid out of the district revenue.

TABLE 19.—*Selected cities, valuation and taxation.*

Cities.	Assessed valuation.			Taxation.							
	Real estate.	Personal property.	Total.	Rate of levy on \$100.				Amount of levy.			
				State.	County.	City.	Total.	State.	County.	City.	Total.
New York, N. Y.....	\$918,134,380	\$175,931,955	\$1,094,066,335	\$0 34	(a)	\$2 24	\$2 58	\$3,751,062	(a)	\$24,478,927	\$28,229,989
Anchorage, N. Y.....	7,216,899	1,587,550	8,804,449	24	80 14	2 30	2 68	20,832	\$11,997	202,419	233,298
Philadelphia, Pa.....	529,169,382	52,560,377	581,729,759	63	(a)	2 02	2 05	200,812	(a)	11,775,729	11,976,532
Harrisburg, Pa.....	5,271,028	112,931	5,384,029	01	80	2 72	3 62	605	52,156	159,621	212,342
Manchester, N. H.....	13,152,737	3,495,242	16,621,979	24	24	1 11	1 50	39,724	39,366	184,460	263,550
Chicago, Ill.....	91,152,229	26,817,806	117,970,035	27	87	3 20	4 33	313,979	1,021,945	3,776,451	5,112,375
Boston, Mass.....	428,777,000	184,545,691	613,322,691	02	01	1 18	1 24	122,665	282,128	7,261,741	7,666,534
Saint Louis, Mo.....	136,071,670	29,216,759	165,288,400	40	(a)	1 83	2 22	655,256	(a)	8,017,427	3,672,683
Kansas City, Mo.....	7,750,840	2,826,420	10,577,260	40	75	3 40	4 55	42,309	79,829	639,627	481,263
Baltimore, Md.....	183,580,023	60,463,158	244,042,181	19	(a)	1 03	1 22	457,581	(a)	2,530,000	2,977,581
Cincinnati, Ohio.....	31,272,619	38,033,016	69,305,635	29	22	2 40	2 91	490,986	365,700	4,070,225	4,926,911
San Francisco, Cal.....	193,290,810	54,186,550	247,477,360	53	(a)	1 69	1 24	1,344,623	(a)	4,151,667	5,476,292
New Orleans, La.....	71,424,382	20,369,968	91,794,350	60	(a)	2 04	2 64	546,708	(a)	1,859,257	2,405,965
Newark, N. J.....	65,733,315	17,631,095	83,364,410	25	41	1 42	2 08	209,612	345,176	1,182,325	1,737,113
Louisville, Ky.....	49,795,000	16,014,000	65,809,000	46	(a)	1 82	2 28	229,431	(a)	1,200,036	1,499,467
Detroit, Mich.....	65,931,315	19,216,725	85,148,040	27	30	1 06	1 46	227,817	165,644	434,236	1,215,691
Providence, R. I.....	86,816,100	28,765,600	115,581,700	17	(a)	1 23	1 40	202,257	(a)	1,415,887	1,618,144
Richmond, Va.....	28,783,389	10,788,967	39,572,356	46	(a)	1 40	1 86	181,538	(a)	549,994	731,442
Petersburg, Va.....	5,921,845	3,210,495	9,132,339	45	(a)	1 50	1 95	41,183	(a)	137,040	178,224
San Francisco, Cal.....	31,865,241	12,102,163	43,967,404	35	54	1 75	1 79	70,453	(a)	176,296	236,103
Charleston, S. C.....	14,583,818	7,957,605	22,541,423	43	63	2 00	3 10	107,081	140,896	450,868	698,845
Minneapolis, Minn.....	16,890,149	6,606,584	23,496,733	15	20	1 11	1 46	35,124	46,831	259,064	341,019
Nashville, Tenn.....	10,763,569	2,573,200	13,336,769	20	80	2 00	5 00	26,674	106,694	266,735	400,103
Memphis, Tenn.....	15,754,314	1,000,000	16,754,314	30	54	1 63	1 68	33,032	60,835	176,296	236,103
Atlanta, Ga.....	12,900,000	18,000,000	30,900,000	35	35	1 50	2 20	63,000	63,000	270,000	396,000
Savannah, Ga.....	9,070,001	5,990,444	15,060,445	45	35	2 13	2 93	67,772	52,713	321,058	441,543
Portland, Me.....	19,825,890	3,320,128	23,146,018	39	07	2 04	2 50	117,835	19,886	616,902	754,623
Wheeler, W. Va.....	10,053,011	4,768,580	14,821,591	35	54	1 75	1 68	51,000	75,500	110,164	235,654
Mobile, Ala.....	8,599,981	4,481,814	13,081,795	65	50	1 45	2 60	84,447	61,869	188,381	337,787
Galveston, Tex.....	11,389,392	2,515,464	14,904,856	50	70	1 50	2 70	75,000	105,000	223,573	403,573
Raleigh, N. C.....	2,430,225	427,214	2,857,439	32	34	1 45	2 12	9,239	9,801	41,512	60,552
Little Rock, Ark.....	3,254,411	1,210,794	4,465,205	62	1 30	1 75	3 85	20,224	66,973	171,010	248,003
Worcester, Mass.....	31,708,100	8,287,671	39,995,771	03	11	1 40	1 56	14,253	46,497	557,193	614,945
Lyons, Mass.....	17,316,639	5,171,225	22,487,864	63	10	1 47	1 61	7,460	24,362	332,481	364,303

a No tax levied.

TABLE 20.—*Drawn from returns of school statistics from the several States and Territories for the year 1881, showing number of youth not enrolled in school, and expense of supplying them with necessary school-houses and teachers and text-books for school of three-months' length for first year.*

States and Territories.	Number of school age not enrolled in school.	Number of school-houses and teachers required for them.	Cost of school-houses required.	Cost of qualifying teachers.	Cost of a three-months' school-teachers' wages.	Cost of text-books.	Total cost of school-houses, expense of preparation of teachers, the pay of teachers, and of school books.
Alabama.....	246,450	64,929	\$51,478,700	\$51,232,250	\$443,610	\$57,395	\$3,161,953.
Arkansas.....	177,097	3,432	1,044,600	870,500	313,380	5,223	2,233,703.
California.....	47,323	945	283,500	226,250	85,050	1,417	605,317.
Colorado.....	14,804	296	80,800	74,000	26,640	444	132,634.
Connecticut.....	24,364	487	146,100	121,750	43,530	730	312,410.
Delaware.....	8,163	163	48,900	40,750	15,570	244	105,464.
Florida.....	49,362	987	296,100	246,750	88,830	1,485	633,965.
Georgia.....	216,819	4,336	1,300,800	1,084,000	390,240	6,504	2,781,544.
Illinois.....	300,595	6,012	1,803,000	1,503,000	541,080	9,018	3,856,698.
Indiana.....	210,488	4,209	1,262,700	1,052,250	378,510	6,313	2,700,673.
Iowa.....	153,917	3,251	967,500	800,000	261,600	4,826	2,071,186.
Kansas.....	99,145	1,983	594,900	495,750	178,470	2,974	1,372,634.
Kentucky.....	315,198	6,364	1,891,200	1,576,000	567,360	9,456	4,044,016.
Louisiana.....	209,044	4,181	1,254,300	1,045,250	376,250	6,271	2,682,111.
Maine.....	48,869	1,277	283,100	219,250	114,500	3,015	819,165.
Maryland.....	160,292	3,206	961,800	801,500	288,540	4,509	2,050,649.
Massachusetts.....	146,551	2,931	870,500	732,750	265,790	4,586	1,890,226.
Michigan.....	122,115	2,473	718,250	618,750	219,770	3,709	1,583,429.
Minnesota.....	182,673	3,633	1,095,000	913,250	328,770	5,470	2,343,259.
Mississippi.....	247,108	4,942	1,482,600	1,235,500	444,780	7,413	3,179,263.
Missouri.....	62,048	1,041	312,300	260,250	93,690	1,561	667,801.
Nebraska.....	2,304	44	15,250	11,000	3,960	66	28,225.
Nevada.....	132,089	2,611	792,300	660,250	237,690	3,961	1,694,201.
New Hampshire.....	640,840	12,817	3,845,500	3,204,250	1,155,530	19,223	8,222,103.
New Jersey.....	227,393	4,547	1,364,100	1,136,750	409,230	6,320	2,913,040.
New York.....	518,579	6,371	1,911,300	1,592,750	573,300	9,656	4,088,096.
North Carolina.....	27,143	543	162,000	135,750	48,870	814	318,391.
Oregon.....	490,428	9,812	2,943,600	2,453,000	883,080	14,718	6,294,398.
Pennsylvania.....	8,157	163	48,900	40,750	14,670	244	104,564.
Rhode Island.....	128,821	2,576	772,800	644,000	231,340	3,864	1,652,201.
South Carolina.....	262,407	5,248	1,574,400	1,312,000	472,320	7,822	3,396,542.
Tennessee.....	438,741	875	292,500	218,750	78,750	1,212	501,312.
Texas.....	24,817	496	188,300	124,000	44,640	744	318,184.
Vermont.....	317,610	6,332	1,935,600	1,588,000	571,680	9,253	4,074,805.
Virginia.....	67,988	1,359	407,700	339,750	122,310	2,038	871,798.
West Virginia.....	101,236	3,824	1,147,200	966,000	344,160	5,736	2,453,096.
Wisconsin.....	8,757	114	53,200	28,500	10,260	171	73,131.
Alaska.....	13,364	267	80,100	66,750	24,030	490	171,280.
Arizona.....	16,259	325	97,500	81,250	29,250	487	208,487.
Dakota.....	1,440	29	8,700	7,250	2,610	43	18,603.
District of Columbia.....	4,783	95	28,500	23,750	8,530	142	60,942.
Idaho.....	24,500	490	147,000	122,500	44,100	735	314,535.
Montana.....	15,581	311	93,300	77,750	27,990	466	199,560.
New Mexico.....	9,145	183	54,000	45,750	16,470	274	117,394.
Utah.....	1,215	24	7,200	6,100	2,160	36	15,456.
Washington.....							
Wyoming.....							
Total.....	6,080,936	120,567	36,170,100	30,141,850	10,851,930	180,782	77,947,662.

a A large number attend school beyond the school age, which carries the enrollment above the total school population, so that the absence of those of school age does not appear. b Allowing one teacher to each fifty pupils. c Allowing one school-house of a cost of \$900 to fifty pupils. d Allowing one year at a normal school at a cost of \$250. e This is the additional cost of a school of three months for the non-attending persons of school age according to the returns for 1881; other returns can be made for 1882. f This is an expense incurred by each parent, and, though not a public tax, is a part of the additional expense to be incurred by the communities.

TABLE 21.—*Table drawn from the returns of school statistics from the Southern States and District of Columbia for the year 1881, showing the number of youth not enrolled in school and the expense of supplying them with the necessary school-houses and teachers and the books for a school of three-months' length for the first year.*

Southern States and District of Columbia.	Number of school age not enrolled in school.	Number of school-houses and teachers required for them.	Cost of building school-houses required.	Cost of qualifying teachers.	Cost of a three months' school-teachers' wages.	Cost of books for pupils.	Total cost of school-houses, expense of preparation of teachers, the pay of teachers, and of school books.
Alabama.....	246,450	64,929	\$51,478,700	\$51,232,250	\$443,610	\$57,393	\$3,161,953.
Arkansas.....	174,097	3,482	1,044,600	870,500	313,380	5,223	2,233,703.
California.....							
Colorado.....							
Connecticut.....							
Delaware.....	8,163	163	48,900	40,750	15,570	244	105,464.
Florida.....	49,362	987	296,100	246,750	88,830	1,485	633,965.
Georgia.....	216,819	4,336	1,300,800	1,084,000	390,240	6,504	2,781,544.
Illinois.....							
Indiana.....							
Iowa.....							
Kansas.....							
Kentucky.....	315,198	6,364	1,891,200	1,576,000	567,360	9,456	4,044,016.
Louisiana.....	209,044	4,181	1,251,300	1,045,250	376,250	6,271	2,682,111.

TABLE 21.—Table drawn from the returns of school statistics for the Southern States and District of Columbia for the year 1881, &c.—Continued.

Southern States and District of Columbia.	Number of school age not enrolled in school.	Number of school-houses and teachers required for them.	Cost of building school-houses required.	Cost of qualifying teachers.	Cost of a three months' school-teacher's wages.	Cost of books for pupils.	Total cost of school-houses, expense of preparation of teachers, pay of teachers, and school-books.
Maine.....	\$160,292	\$3,206	\$961,800	\$801,500	\$228,510	\$1,800	\$2,056,649
Maryland.....							
Massachusetts.....							
Michigan.....							
Minnesota.....							
Mississippi.....	182,675	3,653	1,095,900	913,250	328,770	5,479	2,313,399
Missouri.....	247,108	4,942	1,452,500	1,235,500	444,780	7,413	3,170,293
Nebraska.....							
Nevada.....							
New Hampshire.....							
New Jersey.....							
New York.....							
North Carolina.....	227,356	4,547	1,361,100	1,136,750	409,230	6,820	2,916,920
Ohio.....							
Oregon.....							
Pennsylvania.....							
Rhode Island.....							
South Carolina.....	128,821	2,576	772,800	644,000	231,840	3,861	1,652,504
Tennessee.....	262,407	5,248	1,874,100	1,312,000	472,220	7,822	3,366,542
Texas.....	43,744	875	292,500	218,750	77,590	1,312	364,312
Vermont.....							
Virginia.....	317,619	6,332	1,905,000	1,538,000	571,690	9,528	4,074,803
West Virginia.....	67,988	1,359	407,700	339,750	122,310	2,035	571,793
Wisconsin.....							
Alaska.....							
Arizona.....							
Dakota.....							
District of Columbia.....	18,259	355	97,500	81,250	29,250	437	208,487
Total.....	2,873,399	57,405	17,239,500	14,866,250	5,172,750	86,148	36,854,643

a Allowing one teacher to each fifty pupils. *b* Allowing one school house at a cost of \$300 to fifty pupils. *c* Allowing one year at normal school cost of \$250. *d* This is the additional cost of a school of three months for the non-attending persons of school age, according to the returns of 1881; other returns can be made for 1882. *e* This is an expense incurred by each parent, and, though not a public tax, is a part of the additional expense to be incurred by the community.

TABLE 22.—Table based on returns to the Bureau of Education for 1881, showing legal school population; total school expenditure; per capita of school expenditure; proportion of \$15,000,000 based on number of persons by census of 1880 ten years old and upward who can not read; per capita of \$15,000,000 to per capita of school population of 1881; total of school expenditure including \$15,000,000; and total per capita expenditure including \$15,000,000.

States and Territories.	School population, 1881.	Total school expenditure, 1881.	Per capita of school expenditure, 1881.	Proportion of \$15,000,000 national aid, based on illiteracy of 1880.	Per capita of \$15,000,000 to school population, 1881.	Total of school expenditure, 1881, increased by proportion of \$15,000,000 based on illiteracy of 1881.	Per capita of school expenditure, 1881, increased by proportion of \$15,000,000.
Alabama.....	\$122,739	\$110,000	\$0.97	\$1,127,809.83	92.66	\$1,538,559.83	\$2.04
Arkansas.....	274,841	388,412	1.42	466,535.53	171	857,147.33	3.13
California.....	211,237	3,047,665	14.42	147,983.82	70	3,195,582.82	15.12
Colorado.....	40,804	557,151	13.65	28,373.77	69	585,524.77	11.31
Connecticut.....	143,745	1,476,091	10.27	63,933.36	41	1,540,024.36	10.71
Delaware.....	37,285	207,281	5.56	51,514.96	138	238,795.96	6.94
Florida.....	88,677	111,865	1.29	213,887.07	2.46	328,782.07	3.75
Georgia.....	461,616	498,533	1.08	1,360,596.42	125.05	1,859,129.42	4.03
Illinois.....	1,062,222	7,858,414	7.84	294,880.21	229	8,153,294.21	8.13
Indiana.....	1,414,343	6,528,754	6.53	213,244.37	298	4,741,998.37	6.63
Iowa.....	504,739	5,129,819	8.62	85,644.38	14	5,215,463.38	8.76
Kansas.....	348,179	1,976,397	5.67	77,682.14	22	2,054,079.14	5.90
Kentucky.....	553,638	1,245,524	2.25	786,431.56	3.42	2,034,955.56	3.67
Louisiana.....	271,414	1,441,184	5.31	965,012.35	15	1,488,066.35	7.98
Maine.....	213,927	1,089,414	5.09	55,379.33	25	1,144,793.33	5.35
Maryland.....	319,201	1,604,580	5.02	339,281.80	106	1,943,861.80	6.08
Massachusetts.....	312,680	5,776,512	18.47	230,381.21	73	6,006,893.21	19.21
Michigan.....	318,294	3,528,233	6.53	143,360.75	39	3,671,593.75	6.87
Minnesota.....	300,923	1,468,492	4.87	62,598.35	20	1,531,096.35	5.08
Mississippi.....	419,963	757,758	1.80	961,351.15	228	1,719,112.15	4.09
Missouri.....	723,484	3,132,178	4.33	422,839.63	58	3,555,017.63	4.91
Nebraska.....	174,414	1,441,184	1.62	23,580.18	15	1,488,066.35	7.98
Nevada.....	10,553	140,419	13.33	11,279.34	1.07	151,698.34	14.40
New Hampshire.....	90,899	577,022	9.47	36,497.17	59	613,519.17	10.07
New Jersey.....	235,631	1,914,347	8.12	119,208.26	35	2,033,555.26	6.05
New York.....	1,662,192	10,415,062	6.27	597,330.73	39	11,012,392.73	6.67
North Carolina.....	468,027	409,659	87	1,129,692.94	2.29	1,539,351.94	3.26
Ohio.....	1,063,337	8,133,622	7.65	264,292.68	21	8,397,814.68	7.89
Oregon.....	61,641	318,331	5.16	16,375.30	26	334,706.30	5.43
Pennsylvania.....	1,424,155	7,994,765	5.62	415,130.33	31	8,409,895.33	6.63
Rhode Island.....	53,677	519,937	10.36	53,170.98	1.09	663,107.98	11.36
South Carolina.....	262,279	345,631	1.31	980,141.88	3.73	1,265,775.88	5.05
Tennessee.....	545,875	638,009	1.16	1,201,296.71	2.20	1,839,395.71	8.36

NATIONAL AID TO COMMON SCHOOLS.

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TABLE 22.—Table based on returns to the Bureau of Education for 1881, &c.—Continued.

States and Territories.	School population, 1881.	Total school expenditure, 1881.	Per capita of school expenditure, 1881.	Proportion of \$15,000,000 not received on literacy of 1881.	Per capita of \$15,000,000 to school population, 1881.	Total of school expenditure, 1881, based on literacy of \$15,000,000.	Per capita of school expenditure by proportion of \$15,000,000.
Texas.....	230,527	\$753,346	\$3 26	\$780,455 36	\$3 37	\$1,533,801 26	\$6 65
Vermont.....	99,463	447,252	4 99	39,576 68	3 99	481,828 68	4 83
Virginia.....	556,665	1,100,230	1 97	1,098,067 77	1 95	2,198,306 77	2 84
West Virginia.....	213,191	761,250	3 57	158,516 89	7 4	919,766 89	4 31
Wisconsin.....	491,388	2,279,103	4 65	117,858 88	23	2,396,961 88	4 57
Alaska.....							
Arizona.....	9,571	44,628	4 66	16,740 82	1 74	61,368 82	6 41
Dakota.....	38,815	314,484	8 10	9,424 32	24	324,908 32	8 37
District of Columbia.....	43,588	527,312	12 10	65,613 89	1 50	592,925 89	13 61
Idaho.....	7,520	44,640	5 96	4,215 66	36	48,855 66	6 52
Indian Territory.....							
Cherokees.....							
Chickasaws.....							
Choctaws.....							
Creeks.....							
Seminoles.....							
Montana.....	9,895	55,781	5 63	4,660 98	47	60,441 35	6 10
New Mexico.....	29,255	23,873	99	101,416 72	5 51	190,523 73	6 59
Utah.....	42,333	109,364	4 70	14,776 15	34	214,040 15	5 05
Washington.....	23,899	114,379	4 78	9,719 79	40	124,098 79	5 19
Wyoming.....	4,112	28,504	6 94	1,300 64	31	29,804 64	7 24

TABLE 23.—Showing the sum of money which each State and Territory would receive in the division of \$15,000,000 among them all in proportion to their relative population ten years of age and upward who can not write (census of 1880, 6,239,953).

Relative amounts by each State.	States.	Number who can not write.	Amount.
	NEW ENGLAND STATES.		
33	Maine.....	22,170	\$53,429 70
14	New Hampshire.....	14,302	34,467 82
52	Vermont.....	15,837	38,167 17
19	Massachusetts.....	62,689	224,081 80
23	Rhode Island.....	24,793	59,751 13
20	Connecticut.....	28,424	68,501 84
	Total.....	198,596	478,399 46
	MIDDLE STATES.		
12	New York.....	219,600	529,236 00
26	New Jersey.....	53,219	128,329 09
11	Pennsylvania.....	228,014	549,513 71
84	Delaware.....	19,414	46,787 74
	Total.....	620,277	1,253,857 57
	SOUTHERN STATES.		
3	Alabama.....	433,447	1,044,607 27
14	Arkansas.....	202,015	486,856 15
21	Florida.....	80,183	193,241 03
1	Georgia.....	520,416	1,254,202 56
8	Kentucky.....	318,592	839,634 72
9	Louisiana.....	318,380	767,295 80
16	Maryland.....	134,488	324,116 08
6	Mississippi.....	373,201	899,414 41
13	Missouri.....	298,754	703,007 14
2	North Carolina.....	463,975	1,118,179 75
7	South Carolina.....	309,848	892,333 68
5	Tennessee.....	410,722	989,840 02
10	Texas.....	816,452	2,021,601 12
4	Virginia.....	493,352	1,037,148 32
20	West Virginia.....	85,376	205,756 16
	Total.....	4,695,981	11,318,394 21
	WESTERN STATES.		
15	Illinois.....	145,397	350,496 77
18	Indiana.....	110,761	266,934 01
27	Iowa.....	48,009	112,327 62
22	Kansas.....	39,476	95,137 16
23	Michigan.....	63,723	153,572 43
24	Minnesota.....	34,540	83,255 86
17	Ohio.....	131,841	317,736 81
29	Wisconsin.....	55,588	133,894 78
	Total.....	627,911	1,513,265 61
	PACIFIC STATES.		
25	California.....	53,430	128,796 30
38	Colorado.....	10,474	25,242 31
37	Nebraska.....	11,928	27,732 08

TABLE 23.—Showing the sum of money which each State and Territory would receive, &c.—Continued.

Relative amounts by each State.	States.	Number who can not write.	Amount.
43	Nevada.....	4,069	\$9,806 29
40	Oregon.....	7,423	17,839 43
	Total.....	86,924	209,436 44
	TERRITORIES AND DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.		
41	Arizona.....	5,842	14,079 22
42	Dakota.....	4,321	11,615 61
45	Idaho.....	1,773	4,284 98
46	Montana.....	1,707	4,113 87
23	New Mexico.....	57,156	137,745 96
39	Utah.....	8,826	20,970 86
44	Washington.....	8,389	9,372 40
47	Wyoming.....	556	1,339 56
31	District of Columbia.....	23,778	62,114 98
	Total.....	110,353	265,610 93

The amount to each illiterate who can not write is \$2.41; to each who cannot read it is about \$3.00.

TABLE 24.—Table showing the sum of money which each State and Territory would receive in the division of \$15,000,000 among them all in proportion to their relative population ten years of age and upward who can not read (census, 1880).

States and Territories.	No. of such illiterates in each State.	Proportion of \$15,000,000 to each State.
Alabama.....	370,279	\$1,127,899 83
Arizona.....	5,496	16,740 82
Arkansas.....	153,229	466,733 53
California.....	48,009	147,983 82
Colorado.....	9,321	28,373 77
Connecticut.....	20,986	63,933 36
Dakota.....	3,094	9,424 32
Delaware.....	16,912	51,314 96
District of Columbia.....	21,541	65,613 89
Florida.....	70,219	213,887 07
Georgia.....	404,683	1,360,596 42
Idaho.....	4,215	4,215 66
Illinois.....	96,809	294,880 21
Indiana.....	70,008	213,214 37
Iowa.....	28,117	85,644 33
Kansas.....	23,003	70,000 00
Kentucky.....	238,186	786,434 56
Louisiana.....	297,312	905,612 35
Maine.....	18,181	55,379 33

TABLE 21.—Table showing sum of money, &c.—Continued.

States and Territories.	No. of each il- literate in each State.	Proportion of \$5,000,000 to each State.
Maryland.....	111,287	\$339,284 80
Massachusetts.....	73,635	231,384 21
Michigan.....	47,112	143,503 15
Minnesota.....	20,551	62,508 95
Mississippi.....	315,613	961,354 15
Missouri.....	128,818	425,839 63
Montana.....	1,530	4,690 38
Nebraska.....	7,830	23,850 18
Nevada.....	3,703	11,279 51
New Hampshire.....	11,682	36,557 17
New Jersey.....	39,136	119,208 26
New Mexico.....	52,991	161,419 72
New York.....	165,665	507,559 75
North Carolina.....	267,830	1,120,692 41
Ohio.....	86,754	261,252 68
Oregon.....	5,776	16,375 29
Pennsylvania.....	149,135	445,136 55
Rhode Island.....	17,446	53,170 48
South Carolina.....	321,789	980,141 83
Tennessee.....	301,345	1,204,296 71
Texas.....	256,223	789,455 26
Vt.....	4,801	14,729 15
Vermont.....	12,953	39,576 68
Virginia.....	260,495	1,098,067 77
Washington.....	3,191	9,719 79
West Virginia.....	13,041	39,158 80
Wisconsin.....	58,693	117,858 85
Wyoming.....	427	1,300 64
Total.....	4,923,451	15,000,000 00

Mr. President, the Committee on Education and Labor has also reported another bill, the purpose of which is to provide a perpetual fund for distribution among the States and Territories for the support of common schools. For the first ten years it is proposed that that distribution be made on the basis of illiteracy, and ever afterward on that of actual population. The proposition is to found a fund, and to increase that fund by placing to its account every year the proceeds of the sales of public lands and one-half the income from the land grant railroads of the country, so called, and to distribute not the money itself thus received, but the interest thereof.

Of course at the beginning the amount for distribution would be very trifling, as the interest upon the three, four, or five million, whatever the amount might be, which would be passed to the credit of this fund as the accumulation from the two sources mentioned for the first year would be very little indeed, but gradually it would increase, and in the course of ten years the amount of interest that would be likely to accrue for distribution would become of essential consequence. It might reach in ten years the amount of three or four million dollars, and ever afterward it would continue to increase.

That bill has in substance been before the country for ten or twelve years. The honorable Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. HOAR] whom I do not now see in his seat was one of the earliest and strongest advocates of that measure, and the honorable Senator from Vermont [Mr. MORRILL] has identified his name with it as he has with so many other of the great measures of legislation which have been enacted during the last twenty years in this country. That measure has received the sanction of the Senate upon, I think, more than one occasion. It has failed to pass the House of Representatives heretofore. At some time that bill will come up for consideration by the Senate.

The Committee on Education and Labor looked upon these two bills as entirely harmonious in their relation with each other, the one now being discussed relating only to a temporary exigency, proposing to distribute a larger amount of money immediately to reach an existing difficulty, in order to equalize the educational condition of the country as a whole, and the other bill would naturally supplement it, and about the time the fund from the temporary-aid bill shall disappear something substantial will be coming from this.

I make these remarks at this time in order that I may introduce, as bearing upon the general subject of national aid to education and as contributing something to the symmetry of the discussion, which must include that bill earlier or later, certain documentary matter. I present table No. 25, showing the aggregate amount received from the disposal of public lands in the past twenty years, and one-half the yearly amount received from the railroads, and the yearly income to be derived upon an average yearly amount at 4 per cent. for each of the next ten years for school purposes; a like table, No. 26, giving the income from railroads from three and a half years; and table No. 27 showing the disposals of the public lands and the amount received therefrom in each fiscal year from July 1, 1862, to June 30, 1882, inclusive. I think these tables, in connection with the others which I have already introduced, will furnish to the Senate and to everybody practically all the statistical information that exists in this country in the possession of the Government, from its archives, as bearing on the subject-matter of education.

TABLE 25.—Showing aggregate amount received from the disposal of public lands in the past twenty years, \$49,874,303.38; average amount per year, \$2,443,715.17; one-half the yearly amount received from railroads, \$223,689.92.

Years.	Fund.	Income for distribution.	To schools.	To agricultural colleges.
First year.....	\$2,667,405 09	\$106,606 20	\$71,130 80	\$35,565 40
Second year.....	5,351,810 18	213,392 40	141,261 60	72,130 80
Third year.....	8,902,215 27	320,088 60	213,392 40	106,696 20
Fourth year.....	10,669,620 36	426,784 80	281,523 20	145,261 60
Fifth year.....	13,337,025 15	533,481 00	355,651 00	177,830 00
Sixth year.....	16,004,430 51	640,177 20	426,784 80	213,392 40
Seventh year.....	18,671,835 63	746,575 40	497,915 60	248,659 80
Eighth year.....	21,339,240 72	853,569 60	569,045 40	284,524 20
Ninth year.....	24,006,645 81	950,265 80	640,177 20	310,088 60
Tenth year.....	26,674,050 90	1,065,662 00	711,308 00	355,654 00

TABLE 26.—List of cash payments into the Treasury of the United States made by the Central Pacific Railroad Company on account of "25 per cent. of net earnings," under the act of May 7, 1878, from July 1, 1878, to December 31, 1881:

Six months ending December 31, 1878 (report for 1879, page 38).....	\$181,329 51
Twelve months ending December 31, 1879 (report for 1880, page 37).....	229,076 82
Twelve months ending December 31, 1880 (report for 1881, page 29).....	144,436 74
Twelve months ending December 31, 1881 (report for 1882, page 27).....	79,149 91

Total for three and a half years..... 663,992 45

Amounts found to be due in cash from the Union Pacific Railway Company on account of "25 per cent. of net earnings," under the act of May 7, 1878, for the period from July 1, 1878, to December 31, 1881; but owing to questions in dispute payments have not yet been made by the company (see report for 1882, pages 14 and 53):

Six months ending December 31, 1878 (report for 1881, page 14).....	\$122,779 51
Twelve months ending December 31, 1879 (report for 1881, page 14).....	524,058 38
Twelve months ending December 31, 1880 (report for 1881, page 16).....	721,903 09
Twelve months ending December 31, 1881 (report for 1882, page 31).....	500,191 31

Total for three and a half years..... 2,259,002 03

Less amounts due the company for services rendered prior to the act, which had been withheld by the Treasury Department, namely:

Union Pacific (report for 1881, page 18).....	\$191,244 31
Kansas Pacific (report for 1881, page 18).....	865,920 71

Due United States in cash..... 901,837 03

January 6, 1883.—Payments made during the last three and a half years by the Central Pacific, average yearly..... 189,712 13

Claimed by Government to be due, but nothing paid by Union Pacific, yearly average..... 237,667 72

Total per year..... 447,879 85

One-half of same..... 223,689 92

GENERAL LAND OFFICE, January 8, 1883.

TABLE 27.—Statement showing the disposition of the public lands and the amount received therefrom in each fiscal year from July 1, 1862, to June 30, 1882, inclusive.

Year.	Acres.	Amount.
1863.....	2,906,698 43	\$232,230 63
1864.....	3,281,865 52	797,817 92
1865.....	4,513,738 46	900,131 16
1866.....	4,629,312 87	821,615 08
1867.....	7,041,114 50	1,347,862 52
1868.....	6,655,742 90	1,032,743 90
1869.....	7,666,151 97	1,472,886 28
1870.....	8,065,413 00	3,668,513 00
1871.....	10,765,705 39	2,229,284 70
1872.....	11,864,575 64	2,318,100 00
1873.....	13,030,606 87	3,408,515 50
1874.....	9,530,872 93	2,469,938 50
1875.....	7,070,271 29	1,754,001 27
1876.....	6,524,226 26	1,747,215 85
1877.....	4,840,767 79	1,452,969 23
1878.....	6,686,178 88	2,022,932 16
1879.....	9,235,282 29	1,533,073 56
1880.....	14,729,371 65	2,290,161 60
1881.....	10,128,175 25	4,402,112 53
1882.....	13,998,780 27	7,749,898 82

In addition to the area and amount given for 1882 there were disposed of Indian lands 310,386 13 acres for \$631,67 22, which, added to the total for 1882, make a grand total for 1882 of 14,309,165 40 acres and \$8,334,516 04.

Mr. President, I now come to certain propositions which I think are fairly deducible from the premises already laid down. These propositions are, I think, true:

First. That intelligence and virtue generally diffused among the masses of the people are necessary conditions to the existence of republican governments in the nation and in the States.

Second. That in so far as ignorance and vice exist republican governments fail, and that although the forms of freedom may continue, yet the substance will be eaten out and ultimately the fabric itself will fall.

Third. That there is now in all parts of the country a dangerous degree of ignorance among the people, and that those invested with the sovereignty, which is the suffrage, are by reason of ignorance to a dangerous degree unfitted to exercise the functions of government.

Fourth. That this mass of ignorance is increasing and not diminishing, although there has been a slightly greater increase of population than of illiteracy relatively during the decade from 1870 to 1880 in the country as a whole.

Fifth. That in many parts of the country conditions are growing rapidly worse rather than better, and that the evil is of that peculiar nature that the local power and disposition to apply the remedy grows less as the necessity for it increases.

Sixth. That the danger to the country is everywhere, although the disease may be largely local; that ignorance anywhere circulates everywhere and poisons the political and social life of each State and of the whole people.

Seventh. That the remedy must be applied by those who perceive the danger; that if there is anywhere indifference to the remedy it proves that there is the more occasion for its use, and that the insensibility of the patient requires at once such measures on the part of those still in relatively sound health as will prevent the spreading of the plague; and that the cry of physicians and nurses for help should control our action rather than the convulsions or the stolidity of the patients.

Eighth. But in this case there is neither indifference nor stolidity; there is simply an inability to combat the plague unaided and a cry of distress. Ignorance is worse in a republic than the pestilence.

Ninth. That the exceptional degree of illiteracy prevailing in some parts of the country as it constitutes a common danger, so it is the result historically of causes for which the whole country is responsible, and that those portions of the land which have been free from the immediate presence of the institution to which we trace the evil are not without participation in the guilt as well as the lucre which appertained to it.

That everywhere the pharisee business is played out and the prayer of the publican is in order.

Tenth. Those parts of the country where there is least illiteracy have as a rule received already very largely pecuniary assistance from sources which originated in fortunate location and the wise providence of those who lived before them, and that there is justice in the request for help made by those whose ancestors acquired and defended the soil whereon these happy millions and glorious institutions now repose in prosperity and strength.

Eleventh. That there is no State or Territory in the Union where the facilities for common-school education should not be greatly increased, and none where twice the amount of expenditure and effort now going on might not profitably be made.

Twelfth. That local taxation is very heavy, falling chiefly upon homesteads and visible personal property and the estates of those least able to bear taxation, which should come from the surplus of society and not from its primary means of existence, while the national income is derived mainly from things either better not consumed at all, and therefore the more heavily taxed the better still, because there will be the less of that harm which comes from consumption, or from articles paid for by those who have the surplus earnings and accumulated wealth of society.

Thirteenth. That since, at the present time, the national taxation is far less burdensome to the masses of the people, upon whom falls much more heavily the weight of the support of State and local institutions, and also since the existence of the nation is as much imperiled by ignorance as the perpetuity of the States, therefore the common good requires the appropriation of national aid to the support and maintenance of common schools.

Fourteenth. That this aid should be distributed in such way and should so long continue as is necessary, in order to equalize the facilities for common-school education, and to once elevate the status of the masses of the community to a high standard of intelligence, at which point and after which the community would, in self-defense and from the instinct which inclines men to keep a good when they possess it, be sure to educate itself sufficiently without national help. This proved: that systems of education are best supported and most firmly fixed in the most intelligent States. Those States would as soon surrender their liberties as their schools. They are synonymous.

I now pass to consider the ability of the different sections to bear taxation. The ability of communities to bear taxation is not in proportion to their relative total wealth or property. But there must first be deducted as properly exempt from any imposition so much property and producing power as is necessary to subsistence, and taxation can not be sustained except upon the surplus remaining, if any. The valuation per capita of the New England States is \$661; of the Middle States, \$473; of the Western States, \$334; of the Territories, \$211; of the Southern States, \$155; of the colored population, not over \$5; average of whole country, \$337.

But the ability to bear taxation depends upon producing power at the time the levy is made as much as upon accumulated property, for property will not sell and consequently can not pay unless producing forces are active.

The census shows that from 1870 to 1880 in the States of Virginia, West Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Texas, Arkansas, Kentucky, and Tennessee, thirteen States, there was a net loss in valuation of \$202,568,844. In Texas there was a gain of \$170,631,586; in Georgia, \$12,253,080; North Carolina, \$25,721,580; total, \$203,606,246. Consequently the total loss of valuation in the other ten States enumerated was the enormous sum of \$411,475,090 in ten years.

Bear in mind these are not the ten years during which the slaves were liberated. These were the ten years between 1870 and 1880.

Mr. MILLER, of New York. If it will not interrupt the Senator, I should like to ask him if it is not possible that that difference or shrinkage of value in some of the Southern States is accounted for by the difference in the value of money in the census reports, being currency in 1870 and gold in 1880?

Mr. BLAIR. I can not say in regard to that. That is an open question upon which everybody can draw his own inference. But during the same time in the country at large, as the Senator knows, the aggregate valuation, which undoubtedly was made upon the same substantial basis in all parts of the country, very nearly doubled. It went from sixteen billion to thirty billion dollars or more, if I recollect aright. I will not vouch for figures, but I think it was from sixteen to thirty billion dollars, the actual values. The Senator will observe, too, that in three of the States enumerated there was an actual increase: in North Carolina of \$25,000,000, in Texas of \$170,000,000, and in Georgia of \$12,000,000. I apprehend that the valuation is substantially on the same basis.

Mr. EDMUNDS. How do you account for it?

Mr. BLAIR. I account for it in the actual diminution in the cash value of the property in those States, if the figures are worth anything.

Mr. EDMUNDS. But how do you account for it?

Mr. BLAIR. From the general influences that operated in that section of the country. I think the data before the country very plainly show in most of these same States a quickening and revival in the business tendencies and in the business activity of the people and a general inclination to the investment of capital from abroad. The people are turning their attention to industrial questions, and very rapidly. The face of the South is being transformed, and the old poetic quotation will come in one of these days; the South will really bud and blossom as the rose, and that before a great while. But between the years 1870 and 1880 we all know the condition of the Southern country, and I do not think I could elucidate the subject in such a way that it would be better understood than the honorable Senator from Vermont and others already understand it.

The lack of education among the masses of the people is undoubtedly one more reason why property depreciated; perhaps the greatest reason was the absence of schools, and that was one cause why Northern immigration failed to find its home in the South rather than in the West. If there is anything that a Northern man or a Northern family wants, it is a chance to educate the children; it will not go where there are no schools. It is only primarily by the establishment of schools that that portion of the country can avail itself of the natural tendencies to immigration in that direction, either of individuals or of capital largely.

The decrease in the losing States varied from 45 to 78 per cent. I call attention to the thread of what I was saying, showing a decrease in the valuation in ten of those States of \$411,000,000. During the same ten years the increase of population was 4,006,982, which I suppose at least 30 per cent. of the population of the same thirteen States in 1870.

Ignorance and poverty procreate faster than intelligence and wealth. Again, ability to bear taxation for a certain purpose will depend upon the other existing demands for the application of revenue. In a great section of our country the fixed capital, the houses, structures of all kinds for residence and business of every description, highways, and other means of transportation, &c., were lately destroyed by fire and sword, and when for that reason they have to be replaced or must be produced as a primary condition to existence and advancement for any reason, the taxation, such as poor and struggling communities can bear, must be greatly absorbed in these uses. A community has certain primary physical necessities like an individual, and as he must eat before he learns to read, so the community must provide for some things even before it provides completely for the intellectual culture of its children; hence it would be expected for all these causes that the people in the Southern States would be able to pay far less for the support of common schools than other portions of the American people. Yet, as a fact, they pay in proportion to their valuation as much and in proportion to their capacity to be taxed a great deal more for the education of their children. It is not a question of effort, but of strength.

The rate per cent. of school to total taxation is, in New England, 20.2 per cent.; Middle States, 19.5 per cent.; Western States, 26.6 per cent.; Territories, 22.4 per cent.; Southern States, 20.1 per cent.; average, whole country, 22.6 per cent.

Mr. EDMUNDS. Do you mean on the total valuation?

Mr. BLAIR. No; the percentage of school taxation to the entire amount of taxation.

Mr. EDMUNDS. To a fixed ratio.

Mr. BLAIR. Taking the entire taxation of the country and dividing that taxation into groups, the New England States, the Middle States, the Western States, the Territories, and the Southern States. In New England 20.2 per cent. of all taxation is given to education, to schools.

Mr. EDMUNDS. That percentage of the total for all purposes?

Mr. BLAIR. Of the amount of all taxes raised and collected. For instance, where there is \$100,000 raised in any given community in New England, \$20,200 of that \$100,000 is applied to schools; in the Middle States, \$19,500 of the \$100,000 is applied to schools; in the Western States, \$26,600 is applied to schools; in the Territories, \$22,400 is applied to schools; in the Southern States, \$20,100 is applied to schools; and the average for the whole country of every \$100,000 of taxation is \$22,600. It has a very important bearing on the merits of the proposition that this table be understood.

I now proceed to consider the increase of educational expenditures required. I have not dared to make these calculations up to what I think they really should be; they are the minimum. The education of children is a business just as much as the running of a government, or a line of transportation, or the raising of crops. A plant is first required. The child, ignorant of his letters, is the raw material; and in theory at least, the young man or woman instructed in the rudiments of knowledge and skilled in the primary arts for its acquisition is the manufactured article.

Falling back upon the returns of the Bureau of Education of 1881, the latest and most reliable we have, and bearing in mind all that I have said in the early part of my remarks of the increase since that time, and the enlarged proportions of the problem we are dealing with, I ask attention to the following facts:

In 1881 there were children of the school ages in the United States not enrolled, that is, not attending at all anywhere in public or private schools, 6,630,936.

I will here state that educators complain everywhere that they lack accommodations for those who are actually enrolled. There are no school-houses for their accommodation. In fact there are not sittings for more than are enrolled anywhere. A school-house for fifty pupils can not cost less than \$300. We have, then, a necessity for increase of school-houses 120,567, and of teachers at least the same number. The houses would cost \$36,170,100; if you fit the teachers with one year of instruction, at \$250, \$30,141,850; teachers' wages for three-months' school, at \$30, boarding themselves, about 50 cents per day—one-third pay of diggers of ditches and short drains—\$10,854,930; cost of books, which must be paid for by some one, \$180,782; total, \$77,317,662, to provide the plant and run it three months for the instruction of the children not now attending school at all in this country.

Take now the seventeen Southern States, including the District of Columbia. There were not-enrolled children of school ages returned to the bureau in the year 1881, 2,873,399; school-houses and teachers required, 57,465; cost of houses at \$300 each, \$17,239,500; cost of fitting teachers, at \$250 one year, \$14,366,250; pay for three months, wages at \$30 per month, teacher paying board, \$5,172,750; school-books, \$86,148—a total cost to provide for and instruct for three months the children not now enrolled in public or private schools \$36,864,648, of which \$31,692,898 is necessary before the schools could begin.

Now, all this done, in addition to what already exists north and south, the country would be only tolerably supplied with a school plant, the repair and reproduction of which, with constant increase of investment to perform properly the increasing educational work, must be provided for.

But it should be borne in mind that a school of three months leaves nine months in the year in which to forget what has been learned in the three. Many schools are far less in duration, and consist of but a single term during the year, some not more than three or four weeks, in fact. These averages are pernicious, inasmuch as it is like an effort to divide the crime or misery of the country according to population, and say that each person suffers 25 per cent. from cancer, or is three-fourths a lunatic, or 50 per cent. a murderer. But it is the best we can do, and in no event are we likely fully to grasp the tremendous significance of the solid facts. The schools in my opinion should be six months yearly, and be divided in two terms. That is enough; and the rest of the time of youth should be given to industrial improvement and recreation.

The actual yearly expenditures of all moneys for public schools in the whole country is at this time just about \$80,000,000. I believe that to be a liberal estimate. Of this, in the sixteen Southern States, with the District of Columbia, there may be \$14,000,000. In the year 1881 it was \$13,359,784, as returned to the Commissioner of Education. The schools average about three months yearly.

If we deduct the \$14,000,000 from \$80,000,000 we have remaining as the expenditure in the rest of the country \$66,000,000. As these Southern States have one-third the total population, in order to place that section upon an equality of privilege with the rest there should be, instead of \$14,000,000, a yearly expenditure of \$33,000,000 for her enrolled children, and none of these calculations make any provision for children not enrolled at all.

It is too low an estimate to say that in the North there should be an expenditure of \$100,000,000 at once to increase school facilities, provide and qualify teachers for their work, and at least as much more in

the South, or in the whole country, \$200,000,000. Upon the present basis of expenditure in the North there would be \$100,000,000 annually paid for the support of public schools in the whole country. If one-third the children are now unenrolled and unprovided for, there should be an increase in yearly expenditure of \$50,000,000 on their account. This would make the annual cost of our public schools only \$150,000,000, and would give to all the children of the whole country but six months' training each year, and to teachers only the pay of common laborers or less.

The proposition of the Senator from Illinois [Mr. LOGAN]—setting aside the source of supply from which he proposed to get the money which would have a tendency to identify the support of the public schools with the prosperity of a business which I hope will yet disappear from the earth, which proposition was to appropriate about \$80,000,000 yearly to schools—is really moderate when the necessities of the problem are fairly stated, and I take this occasion to say that the proposition of the Senator from Illinois, divested of the objectionable feature referred to, is worthy of a great statesman and far-seeing patriot. There is nothing the matter but our own failure to fully appreciate the stern requirements of the situation.

If fifty, eighty, or one hundred millions could be substituted for the fifteen millions proposed in this bill, and the whole distributed upon the basis of population, or of illiteracy, temporarily, it would be far better. But I have no hope of the adoption of such a measure, and the committee felt under the necessity of confining the amount to the comparative pittance of fifteen millions, which must necessarily, if not very largely increased, be confined to the dense clouds of ignorance where explosions are threatened; that is to say, it must be applied locally to the evil itself. In States which receive but little, comparatively little is wanted.

Even after \$15,000,000 are divided upon the basis of illiteracy, the individual child will receive for his education in California, \$15.12; in Colorado, \$14.34; in Connecticut, \$10.71; in Nevada, \$14.40; in New Hampshire, \$10.07; in Rhode Island, \$11.36; in District of Columbia, \$13.61, and in Massachusetts, \$19.21.

While in Alabama he will receive \$3.64; in Arkansas, \$3.13; in Florida, \$3.75; in Georgia, \$4.03; in Kentucky, \$3.67; in Louisiana, \$4.96; in Mississippi, \$4.09; in Virginia, \$3.94; in West Virginia, \$4.31; in North Carolina, \$3.26; in South Carolina, \$5.05.

While the immediate need in these last States is at least for double the education called for in the first group.

This bill appropriates \$15,000,000 the first year, and will give to every State and Territory \$3 for each person over ten years of age who can not read, and \$2.41 for each person who can not write, lessening in amount, that is according to the basis of distribution, \$1,000,000 yearly for ten years, when all payments are to cease.

The State will apply the funds and render a yearly account of the manner in which the work is done. The Executive, if dissatisfied, can withhold further expenditures, subject to the action of Congress.

Each State and Territory must expend for school purposes at least one-third the amount received during the first five years and an equal amount the second five years of the operation of the bill if it should become a law.

States receiving small amounts can expend the same for normal instruction, teachers' institutes, or otherwise, as they prefer. The amount that New Hampshire receives, for instance, would increase her normal school facilities more than threefold beyond the present expenditure of the State, or give 59 cents yearly to persons of school age.

The funds must be applied to schools and not to structures, not exceeding one-tenth to the qualification of teachers, which is the first necessity. The States are required to so use the fund as to bring about an actual equalization of school advantages to all children alike. Industrial education is provided for when practicable, which will be but seldom, although something may be done in suitable localities and in the way of beginning.

We are a great way deeper in the mire than we realize when we talk of doing much in the way of teaching trades and occupations before our children can half of them find a chance to learn to read. But it will come in time, and a beginning can now be made in the way of setting out a few young trees.

The Territories are of the utmost importance, and the bill undertakes to provide for them indispensable legislation, both in appropriations and administration.

The method of expenditure in the States is the same substantially which has already been adopted by the Senate in the passage of the bill establishing a national school fund from the proceeds of the sale of public lands, &c. As both parties have already indorsed that method of expenditure on more than one occasion, the committee, or at least a majority of its members, have thought best to avoid all chance for controversy on that subject by adopting that which, having been repeatedly sanctioned, can now be repudiated with consistency.

I also embrace this fitting opportunity to say that I fully believe that the States will everywhere disburse the moneys received under this bill, if it becomes a law, in good faith and with as sacred regard to the demands of prudence and honor in one section of the country as in the other. For a year or two there may be some possible confusion

NATIONAL AID TO COMMON SCHOOLS.

in setting up and testing machinery, but in the existing condition of the public mind, the better way is to give outright to the States and hold them, as they desire to be held, to an undivided responsibility, to be redeemed upon their honor. We shall not trust to that honor in vain.

Mr. President, the absolute necessities of this nation of these States, of their darkened present and of the portentous future, demand the appropriation of public money from a full Treasury to aid in the establishment and support of common schools throughout the country.

Sir, I appeal to the facts, and entreat the Senate to pass this bill.

(Text of the bill (S. 308) as it passed the Senate April 7, 1884, by a vote of yeas 33, nays 11.)

An act to aid in the establishment and temporary support of common schools. *Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,* That for eight years next after the passage of this act there shall be annually appropriated from the money in the Treasury the following sums, to wit: The first year the sum of \$7,000,000, the second year the sum of \$10,000,000, the third year the sum of \$15,000,000, the fourth year the sum of \$15,000,000, the fifth year the sum of \$17,000,000, the sixth year the sum of \$20,000,000, the seventh year the sum of \$7,000,000, the eighth year the sum of \$5,000,000; which several sums shall be expended to secure the benefits of common-school education to all the children of the school age mentioned hereafter living in the United States.

SEC. 2. That such money shall annually be divided among and paid out in the several States and Territories in that proportion which the whole number of persons in each year of the age of ten years and over bears to the whole number of such persons in the United States; such computation shall be made according to the census of 1880.

SEC. 3. That no State or Territory shall receive any of the benefits of this act until the governor or secretary of the State or Territory, or the chief executive officer, certified by him, showing the character of the common-school system in force in such State or Territory; the amount of money expended therein during the last preceding school year in the support of common schools, not including expenditures for the erection of school-houses; whether any discrimination is made in the raising or distributing of the common-school revenues or in the common-school facilities afforded between the white and colored children therein, and, so far as is practicable, the sources from which such revenues were derived; the average attendance in the common schools, and the average attendance in the common schools; the number of white and the number of colored common schools; the average attendance in each class and the length of the school term. No money shall be paid out under this act to any State or Territory that shall not have provided for the common-school education of all its children of school age, without distinction of race or color, either in the raising or distributing of school revenues or in the school facilities afforded: *Provided,* That separate schools for white and colored children shall not be considered a violation of this condition. The Secretary of the Interior shall thereupon certify to the Secretary of the Treasury the names of the States and Territories which he finds to be entitled to share in the benefits of this act, and also the amount due to each.

SEC. 4. That the amount so apportioned to each State and Territory shall be drawn from the Treasury by warrant of the Secretary of the Treasury, upon the monthly estimates and requisitions of the Secretary of the Interior, as the same may be needed, and shall be paid over to such officers as shall be authorized by the laws of the several States and Territories to receive the same.

SEC. 5. That the instruction in the common schools wherein these moneys shall be expended shall include the art of reading, writing; and speaking the English language, arithmetic, geography, history of the United States, and such other branches of useful knowledge as may be taught under local laws.

SEC. 6. The money appropriated and apportioned under the provisions of this act to the use of any Territory shall be applied to the use of common and industrial schools therein by the Secretary of the Interior.

SEC. 7. That the design of this act not being to establish an independent system of schools, but rather to aid for the time being in the development and maintenance of the school system established by local government, and which must eventually be wholly maintained by the States and Territories wherein they exist, it is hereby provided that no part of the money appropriated under this act shall be paid out to any State or Territory in any one year than the sum expended out of its own revenues or out of moneys raised under its authority in the preceding year for the maintenance of common schools, not including the sums expended in the erection of school buildings.

SEC. 8. That a part of the money apportioned to each State or Territory, not exceeding one-tenth thereof, may yearly be applied to the education of teachers for the common schools therein, which sum may be expended in maintaining institutes or temporary training schools or in extending opportunities for normal or other instruction to competent and suitable persons, of any color, who are without necessary means to qualify themselves for teaching, and who shall agree in writing to devote themselves exclusively, for at least one year after leaving such training schools, to teach in the common schools for such compensation as may be paid other teachers therein.

SEC. 9. That no part of the educational fund allotted to any State or Territory shall be used for the erection of school-houses or school buildings of any description, nor for repairs to such buildings.

SEC. 10. That the moneys distributed under the provisions of this act shall be used only for common schools, not sectarian in character, in the school districts of the several States and Territories, in such way as to provide, as near as may be, for the equal distribution of the same to all the children of the school age prescribed by the law of the State or Territory wherein the expenditure shall be made, thereby giving to each child, without distinction of race or color, an equal opportunity for education. The term "school district" shall include all cities, towns, parishes, and other territorial subdivisions, or subdivisions, or all corporations clothed by law with the power of maintaining common schools.

SEC. 11. That no second or subsequent allotment shall be made under this act to any State or Territory unless the governor of such State or Territory shall first file with the Secretary of the Interior a statement, certified by him, giving a detailed account of the payments or disbursements made of the school fund apportioned to his State or Territory and received by the State or Territorial treasurer or officer under this act, and of the balance in the hands of such treasurer or officer at the close of the preceding year, and of the cause of any unpaid balance, and the amount expended in such State or Territory as required by section 8 of this act, and also of the number of public, common, and industrial schools, the number of teachers employed, the total number of children taught during the year, and in what branches included in the Interior act, and certify by him giving a number of white and colored children, and the number of months in each year schools have been maintained in each school district. And if any State or Territory shall misapply or allow to be misapplied, or in any manner appropriated or used other than for the purposes herein provided, the funds, or any part thereof, received under the provisions of this act, or shall fail to comply with the conditions herein prescribed, or to report as herein provided, through its proper officers, the disposition thereof, and the other matters herein prescribed to be so reported, such State or Territory shall forfeit its right to any subsequent appor-

tionment by virtue hereof until the full amount so misapplied, lost, or misappropriated shall have been replaced by such State or Territory and applied as herein required, and until such report shall have been made to the Secretary. That if the public schools of any State or Territory are not within the ages herein specified, it shall not be deemed a failure to comply with the conditions herein. If it shall appear to the Secretary of the Interior that the funds received under this act for the preceding year by the State or Territory have been faithfully applied to the purposes of this act, and that the conditions thereof have been observed, then the Secretary of the Interior shall distribute the next year's appropriation as is hereinbefore provided. The Secretary of the Interior shall have power to hear and examine any complaints of misappropriation or unjust discrimination in the use of the funds herein provided, and shall report to Congress the results thereof.

SEC. 12. That on or before the 1st day of September of each year the Secretary of the Interior shall report to the President of the United States whether any State or Territory has forfeited its right to receive its apportionment under this act, and how forfeited, and whether he has withheld such allotment on account of such forfeiture; and each State and Territory from which such apportionment shall be withheld shall have the right to appeal from such decision of the Secretary of the Interior to Congress.

SEC. 13. That the Secretary of the Interior shall be charged with the practical administration of this act in the Territories through the Commissioner of Education, who shall report annually to Congress its practical operation, and briefly the condition of common and industrial education as affected thereby throughout the country, which report shall be transmitted to Congress by the Secretary of the Interior, accompanying the report of his Department. And the power to alter, amend, or repeal this act is hereby reserved to Congress.

SEC. 14. That no State or Territory that does not distribute the moneys raised for common school purposes equally for the education of all the children, without distinction of race or color, shall be entitled to any of the benefits of this act.

Passed the Senate April 7, 1884.

Aldesit;

ANSON G. MCCOOK, Secretary.

[Text of the bill (S. 328) as reported to the Forty-eighth Congress.]

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That for ten years after the passage of this act there shall be annually appropriated from the money in the Treasury the following sums, to wit: The first year the sum of \$5,000,000, the second year the sum of \$10,000,000, the third year the sum of \$15,000,000, the fourth year the sum of \$15,000,000, the fifth year the sum of \$17,000,000, the sixth year the sum of \$20,000,000, the seventh year the sum of \$7,000,000, the eighth year the sum of \$5,000,000; which several sums shall be expended to secure the benefits of common-school education to all the children of the school age mentioned hereafter living in the United States.

SEC. 2. That such money shall annually be divided among and paid out in the several States and Territories in that proportion which the whole number of persons in each year of the age of ten years and over bears to the whole number of such persons in the United States; and until otherwise provided such computation shall be made according to the official returns of the census of 1880.

SEC. 3. That the Secretary of the Interior, at the close of each fiscal year, shall ascertain the total amount of the school fund to which the States and Territories and the District of Columbia are entitled under the provisions of this act, and shall certify the same to the Secretary of the Treasury. That upon the receipt of such certificate the Secretary of the Treasury shall, on or before the 1st day of July of each year, apportion the said total sum so certified among the several States and Territories and the District of Columbia upon the basis of population and territory specified in the second section of this act.

SEC. 4. That the amount so apportioned to each State and Territory and to the District of Columbia shall be paid, upon the warrant of the Commissioner of Education, countersigned by the Secretary of the Interior, out of the Treasury of the United States, to the treasurer of the State, Territory, or District, or to such officer as shall be designated by the laws of such State, Territory, or District to receive, account for, and pay over the same to the several school districts entitled thereto under said apportionment. The term "school district" as used in this section shall include cities, towns, parishes, or such other corporations as may be created by law, or the power of maintaining common schools.

Provided, That such distribution or payment, after the receipt of said fund by the State, Territory, or District, may be made to any officer designated by the laws of the State, Territory, or District, for the disbursement of the school funds to the teachers employed in such schools.

SEC. 5. That the instruction in the common schools wherein these moneys shall be expended shall include the art of reading, writing, and speaking the English language, arithmetic, geography, history of the United States, and such other branches of useful knowledge as may be taught under local laws, and shall include, whenever practicable, instruction in the arts of industry, and the instruction of females in such branches of technical or industrial education as are suited to their sex, which instruction shall be free to all, without distinction of race, color, nativity, or condition in life. *Provided,* That nothing herein shall deprive children of different races, living in the same community but attending separate schools, from receiving the benefits of this act the same as though the attendance therein were without distinction of race, color, or condition in life.

SEC. 6. The money so apportioned and apportioned under the provisions of this act to the use of any Territory shall be applied to the use of common and industrial schools therein by the Secretary of the Interior.

SEC. 7. That the District of Columbia shall be entitled to the privileges of a Territory under the provisions of this act, but its existing laws and school authorities shall not be affected by the operation of this act. The Commissioner of Education shall be charged with the duty of superintending the distribution of its allotment, and shall make full report of his doings to the Secretary of the Interior.

SEC. 8. That the design of this act not being to establish an independent system of schools, but rather to aid for the time being in the development and maintenance of the school system established by local government, and which must eventually be wholly maintained by the States and Territories wherein they exist, it is hereby provided that no part of the money appropriated under this act shall be paid out in any State or Territory which shall not, during the first five years of the operation of this act, annually expend for the maintenance of common schools at least one-third of the sum which shall be allotted to it under the provisions hereof, and during the second five years of its operation a sum at least equal to the whole amount it shall be entitled to receive under this act.

SEC. 9. That a part of the money so apportioned to each State or Territory, not exceeding one-tenth thereof, may yearly be applied to the education of teachers for the common schools therein, which sum may be expended in maintaining institutes or temporary training schools, or in extending opportunities for normal or other instruction to competent and suitable persons, of any color, who are without necessary means to qualify themselves for teaching, and who shall agree in writing to devote themselves exclusively, for at least one year after leaving such training schools, to teach in the common schools, for such compensation as may be paid to other teachers therein.

SEC. 10. That no part of the educational fund allotted to any State or Territory

or the District of Columbia shall be used for the erection of school-houses or school buildings of any description, nor for rent of the same.

SEC. 11. That the moneys distributed under the provisions of this act shall be used in the school districts of the several States and Territories in such way as to provide, as near as may be, for the equalization of school privileges to all the children of the school age prescribed by the law of the State or Territory wherein the expenditure shall be made, thereby giving to each child an opportunity for common-school and, so far as may be, of industrial education; and to this end existing public schools, not sectarian in character, may be aided, and new ones may be established, as may be deemed best, in the several localities.

SEC. 12. That the number of the number of persons of years of age and upward who can not read and write is not over 5 per cent. of the whole population thereof shall have the right to receive its allotment and to apply the same for the promotion of common-school and industrial education, or the education of teachers thereof, in such way as the law of each State shall provide.

SEC. 13. That the Secretary of the Interior shall receive from the governor of each State and Territory a report, to be made by or through such governor on or before the 30th day of June of each year, giving a detailed account of the payments or disbursements made of the school fund apportioned to his State or Territory and received by the State or Territorial treasurer or officer under section 4 of this act, and of the balance in the hands of such treasurer or officer withheld, unclaimed, or for any cause unpaid or unexpended, and also the amount expended in such State or Territory as required by section 5 of this act, and also of the number of public, common, and industrial schools, the number of teachers employed, the total number of children taught during the year and in what branches instructed, the average daily attendance, and the number and sex of white and colored children, and the number of months in each year schools have been maintained in each school district, and such other information in relation to the use of the school fund and the condition of common-school education as the Secretary of the Interior may require. And any State or Territory which shall fail to be maintained in any manner appropriated or used other than for the purposes herein required, the funds, or any part thereof, received under the provisions of this act, or shall fail to comply with the conditions herein prescribed, or to report as herein required, shall forfeit its right to any subsequent apportionment by virtue hereof until the full amount so misapplied, lost, or misapportioned shall have been replaced by such State or Territory and applied as herein required, and until such report shall have been made: *Provided*, That if the public schools in any State admit pupils not within the ages herein specified it shall not be deemed a failure to comply with the conditions herein.

SEC. 14. That on or before the 1st day of September of each year the Secretary of the Interior shall report to the President of the United States whether any State or Territory or the District of Columbia has forfeited its right to receive its apportionment under this act, and how forfeited, and whether he has withheld such allotment on account of such forfeiture; and each State and Territory and the District of Columbia from which such apportionment shall be withheld shall have the right to appeal from such decision of the Secretary of the Interior to Congress; and if the next Congress shall not direct such share to be paid, it shall be added to the general educational fund for distribution among the other States and the Territories and District of Columbia which shall be entitled to the benefit of the provisions of this act.

SEC. 15. That the Secretary of the Interior shall be charged with the practical administration of this act in the Territories and the District of Columbia, through the Commissioner of Education, who shall report annually to Congress the practical operation, and briefly the condition of common and industrial education as affected thereby throughout the country, which report shall be transmitted to Congress by the Secretary of the Interior, accompanying the report of his Department.

[Text of bill (S. 151) introduced in the Forty-seventh Congress.]

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES,

December 6, 1881.

Mr. BLAIR asked and, by unanimous consent, obtained leave to bring in the following bill; which was read twice, and referred to the Committee on Education and Labor.

December 20, 1881, ordered to be printed.

A bill to aid in the establishment and temporary support of common schools.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That for ten years next after the passage of this act there shall be annually appropriated from the money in the Treasury the following sums, to wit: The first year the sum of \$15,000,000, the second year the sum of \$14,000,000, the third year the sum of \$13,000,000, and thereafter a sum diminished \$1,000,000 yearly from the sum last appropriated until ten annual appropriations shall have been made, when all appropriations under this act shall cease; which several sums shall be expended to secure the benefits of common-school education to all the children living in the United States.

SEC. 2. That the instruction in the common schools wherein these moneys shall be expended shall include the art of reading, writing, and speaking the English language, arithmetic, geography, the history of the United States, and such other branches of useful knowledge as may be taught under local laws, and may include, whenever practicable, instruction in the arts of industry; which instruction shall be free to all, without distinction of race, nativity, or condition in life: *Provided*, That no child herein shall be deprived of the benefits of common-school education in the same community but attending separate schools, from receiving the benefits of this act the same as though the attendance therein were without distinction of race.

SEC. 3. That such moneys shall be annually be divided among and paid out in the several States and Territories in that proportion which the whole number of persons in each, who, being of the age of ten years and over, can not read and write bears to the whole number of such persons in the United States; and until otherwise provided by the Commissioner of Education shall be made according to the official returns of the census of 1880.

SEC. 4. That such moneys shall be expended in each State by the concurrent action, each having a negative upon the other, of the Secretary of the Interior, on the part of the United States, and the independent public schools, public schools, board of education, or other body in which the administration of the public-school laws shall be vested, on the part of the several States wherein the expenditures are respectively to be made; and whenever the authorities of the United States and of the State fail to agree as to the distribution, use, and ap-

plication of the money hereby provided for, or any part thereof, payment thereof, or such part thereof, shall be suspended. And if such disapproval continue throughout the fiscal year for which the same was appropriated, it shall be covered into the Treasury and shall be added to the general appropriation for the next year, provided for in the first section of this act.

All moneys appropriated under the provisions of this act to be the use of any Territory shall be applied to the use of schools therein by the Secretary of the Interior, through the commissioner of common schools, whose appointment is hereinafter provided for.

SEC. 5. That the moneys distributed under the provisions of this act shall be used in the school districts of the several States and Territories in such way as to provide for the equalization of school privileges to all the children throughout the State or Territory wherein the expenditure shall be made, thereby giving to each child an opportunity for common-school education; and to this end existing public schools not sectarian in character may be aided, and new ones may be established, as may be deemed best in the several localities.

SEC. 6. That a part of the money apportioned to each State or Territory, not exceeding one-tenth thereof, may be expended for the education of teachers for the common schools therein, which sum may be expended in maintaining institutes or temporary training schools or in extending opportunities for normal or other instruction to intelligent and suitable persons, of any color, who are without necessary means, and who shall agree, in writing, to qualify themselves and teach in the common schools of such State or Territory at least one year.

SEC. 7. That the design of this act not being to establish an independent system of schools, but rather to aid for the improvement and development and maintenance of the school systems established by local power, and which must eventually be wholly maintained by the States and Territories wherein they exist, it is hereby provided that no part of the money appropriated under this act shall be expended for the maintenance of any school for more than the first five years of the operation of this act annually expend for the maintenance of common schools, free to all, at least one-third of the sum which will be allotted to it under the provisions hereof, and during the second five years of its operation shall be expended for the whole of it, and shall be expended for the whole of it; and if such expenditure shall not be shown to the Secretary of the Interior at the end of each fiscal year by each State or Territory, respectively, or by such other evidence as shall be satisfactory to him, then the allotment under this act to such State or Territory shall be reduced to the extent of such expenditure by the State or Territory from the proceeds of local funds, whether derived from taxation or otherwise, shall be expended for the support of common schools therein wholly in the discretion of the Secretary, who shall apply the same to the support of existing or to the establishment of new schools in such way as he shall see best.

SEC. 8. That no part of the money herein provided for shall be used for the erection of school-houses or school-buildings of any description, nor for rent of the same: *Provided*, however, That whenever it shall appear to the Secretary that otherwise any given locality will remain wholly without reasonable common-school advantages, he may, in his discretion, from the general fund allotted to the State or Territory, provide schools and for their temporary accommodations, by rent or otherwise, in the most economical manner possible. *And provided further*, That in no case shall more than 5 per cent. of such allotment be set apart for or be expended under the provisions of this section.

SEC. 9. That there shall be appointed by the President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, a commissioner of common schools in each State and Territory, who shall be a citizen thereof and shall reside therein, and shall perform all such duties as may be assigned to him by the Secretary of the Interior, and who shall be specially charged with all the details of the execution of this act within his jurisdiction, and in the performance of which he shall be aided by the Commissioner of Education, who shall be charged with the general supervision and control of public education, and shall possess all the powers now vested in Territorial superintendents and boards of education, or by whatever Territorial officers the same may have been hitherto exercised. He shall be paid a salary of not less than three nor more than five thousand dollars, in the discretion of the Secretary of the Interior. He shall annually make full reports of all matters connected with schools in his jurisdiction to the Secretary of the Interior, and particular reports when called upon by the Secretary, and especially of all details in the administration of this act. In addition to his other duties he shall devote himself to the promotion of the general interests of public education in the State or Territory for which he is appointed.

SEC. 10. That any State, in which the number of persons ten years of age and upward who can not read is not over 5 per cent. of the whole population, signifying its desire that the amount allotted to it under the provisions of this act shall be appropriated in any other way for the promotion of common-school education, in its own borders or elsewhere, its allotment shall be paid to such State in full as appropriated: *Provided*, That its Legislature shall have first considered the question of its appropriation to the general fund for use under the provisions of this act in States and Territories where the proportion of illiterate persons is more than 5 per cent. of the whole population.

SEC. 11. That any State whose illiterate is greater than 5 per cent. of its whole population failing to accept the provisions of this act and to comply with its provisions, so as to be entitled to its allotment from year to year, the sum allotted to such State, subject to the discretionary action of the Secretary of the Interior under the sixth and seventh sections of this act, shall become a part of the fund to be distributed among the States which shall be entitled to their respective allotments, and to the Territories. And any State not accepting the provisions of this act, nor acquiring the right to dispose of its allotment as provided in the preceding section, the same shall become a part of the general fund for like distribution.

SEC. 12. That the District of Columbia shall be entitled to the privileges of a Territory under the provisions of this act, but shall not be considered one of the common schools appointed for aid District, nor shall it existing laws and school authorities be interfered with. The Commissioner of Education shall be charged with the duty of superintending the distribution of its allotment, and shall make full report of its doings to the Secretary of the Interior.

SEC. 13. That the Secretary of the Interior shall be charged with the practical administration of this law through the Bureau of Education, and all moneys paid under its provisions shall be made by Treasury warrant to the individual performing the duties of the Commissioner of Education, and he shall be personally entitled to receive the money, or to his agent, duly authorized by him, upon vouchers approved by the State authorities, when under the provisions of this act their approval is necessary, and by the commissioner of common schools for the State or Territory wherein the expenditure shall be made, and by the Secretary of the Interior.

[Text of the bill (S. 194) as it passed the Senate March 5, 1886, by a vote of yeas 36, nays 11.]

S. 194.

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES.

MARCH 5, 1886.

A BILL

To aid in the establishment and temporary support of common schools.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That for eight fiscal years next after the passage of this act there shall be annually appropriated from the money in the Treasury the following sums, to wit: The first year the sum of \$7,000,000, the second year the sum of \$8,000,000, the third year the sum of \$15,000,000, the fourth year the sum of \$18,000,000, the fifth year the sum of \$11,000,000, the sixth year the sum of \$9,000,000, the seventh year the sum of \$7,000,000, the eighth year the sum of \$5,000,000; which several sums shall be expended to secure the benefits of common-school education to all the children of the school age mentioned hereafter living in the United States: *Provided*, That no money shall be paid to a State, or any officer thereof, until the Legislature of the State shall, by bill or resolution, accept the provisions of this act; and such acceptance shall be filed with the Secretary of the Interior. And if any State or Territory shall decline or relinquish its share or proportion under this act, any portion thereof, the sum so relinquished shall go to increase the amount for distribution among the other States and the Territories as herein provided. And any State or Territory which shall accept the provisions of this act, at the first session of its Legislature after its passage, shall, upon complying with the other provisions of this act, be entitled at once to its pro rata share of all previous annual appropriations.

SEC. 2. That such money shall annually be divided among and paid out in the several States and Territories and in the District of Columbia in that proportion which the whole number of persons in each who, being of the age of ten years and over, can not write bears to the whole number of such persons in the United States; such division to be made according to the census of 1880 until the illiteracy returns of the census of 1890 shall be received, and then upon the basis of that census. And in each State and Territory, and in the District of Columbia, in which there shall be separate schools for white and colored children, the sum so received by each State or Territory, and in the District of Columbia, shall be apportioned and paid out for the support of such white and colored children, respectively, in the proportion that the white and colored children between the ages of ten years and twenty-one years, both inclusive, in such State or Territory, and in the District of Columbia, bear to each other. And the proportion of said money to the support of all common schools wherein white and colored children are taught together.

SEC. 3. That the District of Alaska shall be considered a Territory within the meaning of this act; but no acceptance of the provisions of this act, report of the governor of the district, or expenditure by the district for school purposes shall be required; and the money apportioned to said district shall be expended annually under the direction of the Secretary of the Interior, in the manner provided for the expenditure of other appropriations for educational purposes in said district; and for the purpose of ascertaining the amount to be apportioned to said district the Secretary of the Interior shall ascertain, in such manner as shall be deemed proper by him, the number of children attending schools.

SEC. 4. That no State or Territory shall receive any money under this act until the governor thereof shall file with the Secretary of the Interior a statement, certified by him, showing the common-school system in force in such State or Territory; the amount of money expended thereunder during the last preceding school year in the support of common schools; not including expenditures for the rent, repair, or erection of school houses; whether any discrimination is made in the raising or distributing of the common-school revenues or the common-school facilities afforded between the white and colored children therein, and so far as is practicable, the sources from which such revenues are derived; the manner in which the same were apportioned to the use of the common schools; the number of white and colored children in each county or parish, and city between the ages of ten and twenty-one years, both inclusive; the number of teachers employed, white and colored, male and female, and the average compensation paid such teachers; the average attendance in each class; and the length of the school term. No money shall be paid out under this act to any State or Territory that shall not have provided by law a system of free common schools for all of its children of school age, without distinction of race or color, either in the raising or distributing of school revenues or in the school facilities afforded: *Provided*, That separate schools for white and colored children shall not be considered a violation of this condition. The Secretary of the Interior shall certify to the Secretary of the Treasury the States and Territories which he finds to be entitled to share in the benefits of this act, and also the amount due to each.

SEC. 5. That the amount so apportioned to each State and Territory shall be drawn from the Treasury by the Secretary of the Treasury, upon the monthly estimates and requisitions of the Secretary of the Interior, upon the same may be needed, and shall be paid over to such officers as shall be authorized by the laws of the respective States and Territories to receive the same. And that the Secretary of the Interior is charged with the proper administration of this law, through the Commissioner of Education, with the approval directed, and under the approval of the President, to make all needful rules and regulations, not inconsistent with its provisions, to carry this law into effect.

SEC. 6. That the money so appropriated to common schools wherein these means English language, arithmetic, geography, history of the United States, and such copies of all school system established by the school boards or other authorities shall be filed with the Secretary of the Interior.

SEC. 7. That the money so appropriated and apportioned under the provisions of this act to the use of any Territory shall be applied to the use of common and industrial schools therein, under the direction of the Legislature or governing body thereof. SEC. 8. That the design of this act not being to establish an independent system of schools, but to aid for the time being in the development and maintenance of the school system established by local government and which must eventually be wholly maintained by the States and Territories wherein the aid exist, it is hereby provided that no greater part of the money appropriated under this act shall be paid out to any State or Territory in any one year than

the sum expended out of its own revenues or out of moneys raised under its authority in the preceding year for the maintenance of common schools, not including the sums expended in the erection of school-buildings.

SEC. 9. That the money apportioned to each State or Territory, not exceeding one-tenth thereof, may, in the discretion of its Legislature, year by year, be applied to the education of teachers for the common schools therein, which sum may be expended in maintaining institutes or temporary training schools, or in able persons, of any race or color, who are without necessary means to qualify themselves for teaching, and who shall agree in writing to devote themselves exclusively, for at least one year after leaving such training schools, to teach in the common schools; for such compensation as may be paid other teachers therein.

SEC. 10. That no part of the money so appropriated to each State or Territory under the first section of this act shall be used for the erection of school-houses or school buildings of any description, nor for rent of the same.

SEC. 11. That the moneys distributed under the provisions of this act shall be used only for common schools, not sectarian in character, in the school districts of the several States, and only for common or industrial schools in Territories, in such way as to provide, as near as may be, for the equalization of school privileges to all the children of the school age prescribed by the law of the State or Territory wherein the expenditure shall be made, thereby giving to each child, without distinction of race or color, an equal opportunity for education. The term "school district" shall include all cities, towns, parishes, and other territorial subdivisions for school purposes, and all corporations clothed by law with the power of maintaining common schools.

SEC. 12. That no second or subsequent allotment shall be made under this act to any State or Territory unless the governor of such State or Territory shall first file with the Secretary of the Interior a statement, certified by him, giving a detailed account of the disbursements or disbursements of the money so allotted to his State or Territory and received by the State or Territorial treasurer or officer under this act, and of the balance in the hands of such treasurer or officer withheld, unclaimed, or for any cause unpaid or unexpended, and also the amount expended for the salaries of teachers in each State or Territory, and also a statement of the number of school districts in such State or Territory, and whether any portion of such State or Territory has not been divided into school districts or other territorial subdivisions for school purposes, and if so, what the reasons why; and if the number of children in the State or Territory, and the total number taught during the year and in what branches instructed; the average daily attendance and the relative number of white and colored children; and the number of months in each year schools have been open; and the number of months in each year schools have been open; and if any or all of the foregoing are misapplied or used other than for the purposes and in the manner herein required, the funds, or any part thereof, may be withheld, unclaimed, or to report as herein provided, through its proper officers, the disposition thereof, and the other matters herein prescribed to be so reported, such State or Territory shall forfeit its right to any subsequent allotment by virtue hereof until the full amount so misapplied, lost, or misappropriated shall have been replaced by such State or Territory or applied as herein required, and until such report shall have been made: *Provided*, That if the public schools in any State admit pupils not within the ages herein specified, it shall not be deemed a failure to comply with the conditions herein specified, if the Secretary of the Interior shall find that funds received under this act for the preceding year by the State or Territory have been faithfully applied to the purposes contemplated by this act, and that the conditions hereof have been observed, then and not otherwise the Secretary of the Interior shall distribute the next year's appropriation as is hereinbefore provided. And it shall be the duty of the Secretary of the Interior to promptly investigate all complaints lodged with him of any misappropriation by or in any State or Territory of any moneys received by such State or Territory under the provisions of this act, or of any discrimination in the use of such moneys; and the said complaints, and all communications received concerning the same, and the evidence taken upon such investigations, shall be preserved by the Secretary of the Interior, and shall be open to public inspection and annually reported to Congress.

SEC. 13. That on or before the 1st day of September of each year the Secretary of the Interior shall report to the President of the United States whether any State or Territory has forfeited its right to receive its apportionment under this act, and how forfeited, and whether he has withheld such allotment on account of such forfeiture.

SEC. 14. That no State or Territory that does not distribute the moneys raised for common-school purposes equally for the education of all the children, without distinction of race or color, shall be entitled to any of the benefits of this act.

SEC. 15. That the apportionment of the money shall be appropriated in pursuance of this act for the purposes of education in the Territories shall be upon the basis of the illiteracy therein, as provided in section 2 of this act; but in determining the number of illiterates therein the Secretary of the Interior is authorized to receive and consider, in addition to the census returns of 1880, any evidence that may be submitted to him showing the number of illiterates in such Territories, and shall determine therefrom, before the first distribution is made, the amount to which such Territory is entitled.

SEC. 16. That there shall be appropriated and set apart, in addition to the sum of seven millions of the first appropriation, the sum of \$2,000,000, which shall be allotted to the several States and Territories on the same basis as the moneys appropriated in the first section, which shall be known as the common-school house fund, to be paid out to each State and Territory at the end of the year on proof of the expenditure made during such year, which shall be expended for the erection of school-houses for the use and occupation of the pupils attending the common schools in the sparsely populated districts thereof, where the local community shall be comparatively unable to bear the burdens of taxation. Such school-houses shall be built in accordance with plans to be furnished free on application to the Bureau of Education at Washington: *Provided*, however, That not more than \$150 shall be paid from said fund toward the cost of any single school-house, nor more than one-half the cost thereof in any case; and the States and Territories shall annually make full report of all expenditures from the school-house fund to the Secretary of the Interior, as in case of other moneys received under the provisions of this act.

SEC. 17. The District of Columbia shall be entitled to all the benefits and subject to all the regulations of this act, so far as applicable under its form of government.

SEC. 18. The power to alter, amend, or repeal this act is hereby reserved.

EDUCATION AND LABOR.

Competition Between the North and South--National Aid to
Education Alone is Protection to Labor and
Capital, Especially in the North.

SPEECH

OF

HON. HENRY W. BLAIR,

OF NEW HAMPSHIRE.

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES,

Wednesday, March 2, 1887.

The Senate, as in Committee of the Whole, having under consideration the bill (H. R. 11029) making appropriations for the naval service of the United States for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1888, and for other purposes—

Mr. BLAIR said:

Mr. PRESIDENT: For about six thousand years the human race has been engaged in the science and the art of war, which is simply the prosecution of those methods by which human beings can best destroy each other. The chief burdens that mankind have borne and that now overload civilization are the results of this tendency to war; and it has seemed to me, I confess, that if the millennium which we are accustomed to believe in is not an absolute myth, a nation like our own with sixty millions of the most highly civilized people that the world has ever seen, still evolving and developing, it may be for the first time in the records of history, might set to the world the example of an effort to settle the controversies which arise between nations without resorting to the destructive arts of butchery.

For one, though I vote all that is asked, it is with great reluctance that I support these bills which call for such enormous expenditures purely in contemplation of conflicts which are to come. Though it may be a sentiment hardly proper to enunciate and which it is certainly not popular to enunciate, yet I still think the American people need do very little in the way of preparing for actual war.

I believe that this nation is great enough and strong enough in its intellectual and moral worth and character to defy the possibility of any conflict by appealing to the sense of justice of the world, and that refusing to engage in warfare from this day forth we might initiate an era which, if not absolute peace at once, would result within a short period in the elimination of wars from among civilized nations; and the great wars of the world have only been those among civilized nations, for only those are capable of a comprehensive concentration of effort which makes a great war.

While I suppose that we are sure to have some expenditure in this direction, I would be very sure to limit the appropriations and expenditure to what may be strictly called national defense. I would not willingly vote to appropriate a single dollar which I thought would induce this nation under any circumstances, even of great provocation, to engage in anything like aggressive war.

But the expenditure for war of a defensive character, the construction of vessels, the making of great guns, the development of new agencies of destruction by modern inventions, such as dynamite, nitro-glycerine, and many others, will require, of course, large amounts, and I am willing to vote something, only being assured, as far as possible, that the expenditures will be simply in the way of defense.

I think, too, that if this be done, it is very proper that measures be taken to secure the expenditure in such a way in different parts of the country as to give to all of our people the advantage of the expenditure of the public funds in their own vicinity. I do not know precisely what the amendment moved may be, but there can be no doubt that the claim of our friends from the Southern country that labor is cheaper there, that raw materials which may be used in the construction of these vessels, or these great guns, are cheaper there—there can be no doubt I say that this claim is true, and if these conditions were to continue, I have no doubt that to the not remote future the industries and the labor of the North would find themselves suffering from a form of competition greater than that which

we are likely to suffer from, even from the repeal of our protective tariff, and by the introduction of Chinese labor to our shores without limit or stint to any degree whatever.

It is because the Senator from Florida [Mr. CALL] touched upon this point that I am ready at this time to make a few remarks which I had prepared for another occasion, bearing upon this question, which needs to be more considered. I think in our country than it has been as yet—the advantages which one section has in this matter of labor; and this is the great item after all of expenditure, for of all the amounts of money that are paid out from one year's end to the other in the form of wages, in the form of payment for materials, at least 90 or 95 per cent. of the whole represents wages for labor; and in this direction I wish to submit a few remarks at this time.

The war between the nation and the Southern States—

Mr. HALE. Will the Senator allow me a question? I know that we are all very desirous of listening to the remarks which the Senator, as he says, has prepared for another occasion; but will not the Senator give way for five or ten minutes and let us pass this bill in order that it may get through and go to the President? Of course, I understand the Senator can go on and I do not attempt to take him from the floor except by his entire good-will and assent.

Mr. BLAIR. Under the circumstances I think the Senator will not press his request.

Mr. HALE. I am at the mercy of the Senator.

Mr. BLAIR. I think the Senator is, and at the same time I will remind him that he has not often been at my mercy in the effort to assert any title of occupancy to this floor. I promise the Senator that I will offer remarks which it will be worth while for him to consider, and that it will be worth while for him and for the President, to whom he appeals for his cordial signature to this bill, to consider these same remarks. They are pertinent now; they will be pertinent on many other occasions; and it will do the Senator no harm to have these ideas in his mind as he goes on during the remainder of his Senatorial term.

Mr. HALE. I wish the Senator would wait and let me hear them after the Senate has adjourned at 12 o'clock on the 4th day of March.

Mr. BLAIR. I have indicated my desire and propose to be no further interrupted.

The war between the nation and the Southern States was a conflict between systems of industrial production. One system secured to the wage-laborer high returns for his toil and to the individual producer high prices for his commodity. The other system paid the common laborer the scant necessities of life, just enough to create and preserve him as a profitable animal or an efficient machine, while the entire product as well as the plant of fixed, circulating, and living capital was owned by the employer.

These two systems collided in Kansas, and the war which followed abolished the forms of slavery, retaining much of its power, because the ignorance which made slavery possible with the prejudice against war which grew out of its degradation was neither removed nor seriously diminished.

More than twenty years have now elapsed since peace was restored, during which long period considerable progress has been made in the South in the diversification of industries and of production and in the increase of general intelligence. A corresponding increase of compensation has resulted to all laboring men, whether wage-workers or producers with small capital of their own, and some advancement has been made.

The wonderful natural resources of the South are now being constantly bought up by the capital of the North and of other countries. Already the Southern market for many forms of goods once furnished from the North or from Europe as well as for agricultural productions and raw materials is being supplied, as it should be, at home. More than this, the South is already invading the Northern and Northwestern markets, and is competing for trade with production of which the highly-paid labor and capital of the North is the chief element.

Foreseeing the inevitable, Northern capital and investments are seeking the South where, with labor of all kinds, agricultural, mechanical, and operative, skilled and unskilled, upon an average not more than one-half or two-thirds as high when paid in actual money or in commodities at cash prices as in the North, the profits of their new location will replace the depreciation and losses which are impending to their investments at home.

It is safe to predict that within ten years, unless new and important factors are combined with existing conditions, the productions of the South after fully supplying their own will compete in Northern markets with most of the commodities which now are the chief production of the old free States at prices so low as to make it a matter of indifference to Northern labor whether the protective tariff against the products of "foreign pauper labor" be removed or continued, or even whether Chinese or foreign contract labor be longer excluded from our shores.

The farm laborers and operatives of both races in the South are rapidly acquiring the skill required to equal that of corresponding classes at the North, while the fact that women and children are more generally employed, and that all work more hours than at the North, enables a given population if of equal intelligence and skill to produce more for a time at least than the same number could under the more liberal treatment of manual workers in the old free-labor States.

The South contains very nearly, perhaps fully, one-half the natural resources of the whole country, and is certainly capable of greater rapidity of development during the next quarter of a century than the North and further West. Already she has more than one-third the entire population of the Union. Her rate of natural increase is equal to that of the North with our advantage by reason of emigration, while this advantage even is passing away as the capabilities of the South are becoming better known.

The two principal facts to be noted are these: That the average cash compensation for labor at the South is not more than one-half or two-thirds the amount paid to for the same at the North, and that capital, cognizant of this fact, and of the superior resources, facilities, and capabilities of the South, is already rushing there from all directions as the most promising field for permanent investment in active production.

On the 10th day of the month of November, 1886, I was in North Carolina and ascertained the wages paid to the men who had charge of the yard work at an important railroad station, the shifting of cars, making up of trains, &c., and to section-men and common laborers. The foreman received the highest pay of any one in the yard, which was \$1 a day cash or a check on the bank, including Sabbath, or \$30 per month, boarding himself, while the section-men received 50 cents and board, making about 75 cents per diem. Good farm-hands work for \$6 per month.

I have here a slip, which I have verified to a large extent, from a gentleman who writes to the editor of the Press, of Philadelphia:

COLORED LABOR AT THE SOUTH—THE WAGES PAID TO THE HANDS ON A VIRGINIA PLANTATION.

To the Editor of the Press:

Sir: I read every few days in the Record and Times of Philadelphia that the negro laborer receives as much in wages at the South as North. Now, I wish to beg to state it is not so. I own two plantations in Virginia, abut us good as any, and I have men who farm them on shares. They pay, and I never know any other parties to pay, but 40 cents a day and rations. The rations consist of fifteen pounds of bacon and a bushel and a half of cornmeal a month, and even at 40 cents a day they do not have steady work. Now, if the laborers here do not get more than that I would like to know it. I can hire hundreds South on farms in Virginia at 40 cents a day and the rations specified above, and I know what I am talking about, as they draw on me for money to help run their places. Dr. Bradley, who is connected with your office, can inform you who I am.

C. P. FARNER.

BURLINGTON, N. J., December 12, 1886.

You can go out from here anywhere 5, 10, 15, or 20 miles into either Virginia or Maryland, and you will find that the prices for common labor are not in excess of what I have mentioned, and if any one chooses to be at the trouble of consulting the evidence taken by the Committee on Education and Labor two or three years ago in the South he will find that these statements as to the compensation for ordinary labor, which is the great mass of labor, are not overstated in the direction of a minimum. It is true that here and there skilled labor, where it is itself in the nature of instruction, giving instruction to the surrounding labor, commands as high prices as in the North. That is very true. But the great mass of labor—nine-tenths of the labor which enters into the production of the South—is this cheap form of labor with which Northern labor has to compete.

But I will not load the pages of the RECORD with the details which establish the well-known proposition that, although here and there skilled labor may be paid nearly the same as in the North, yet as a rule the cost of labor as an element in Southern production is little, if any, more than one-half the cost of like labor at the North, and that this great fact foreshadows a competition ruinous to Northern industries and with no corresponding benefit to the cheap labor in the Southern States. As an illustration of the rapidity with which capital is investing in the Southern States I cite an authoritative statement, recently given to the public, that during the first nine months of the year 1886 eighty-one millions of dollars were invested from other States and countries in Southern enterprises, chiefly manufacturing cloths and metals, with every reason to anticipate at least one hundred millions thus invested as the total for the year 1886. When we consider that this sum is more than one twenty-eighth part of the total of manufacturing capital in the United States, according to the last census, the fact becomes of startling significance to capital fixed in Northern plants, and still more so to Northern laborers, operatives, and mechanics.

Another fact should be comprehended also by the Northern people, and that is the wonderful uprising of the spirit of thrift, energy, and industry observable all over the South.

The traditional conception of the Southern people is no longer true. A new generation controls that land of surpassing resources and natural advantages. The war destroyed the old form of patrician and semi-military supremacy which madly appealed to arms to prolong its power. But informed as well as chastened by defeat the survivors of the struggle and the generation now upon the stage are full of life and hope and enterprise, and are eagerly at work to rebuild their fortunes and restore the power and prestige of their section of our common country by imitating and, if possible, surpassing all the conditions which enabled the North to triumph in the

mighty conflict. No one can witness this display of fortitude in adversity and of aggressive courage, when there was room for despair, without admiration. But all the more do these facts demand the attention of the North.

Their contemplation can occasion regret only in the breast of a common enemy of both sections of the country. But they point with unerring certainty to a coming competition between the producers of both sections for the home market in all the common articles of consumption in comparison with which that between American labor and the cheap production of the Old World is mere fun. The protective tariff, or absolute prohibition, is the omnipresent and complete defense of American labor and capital whenever threatened with destruction by the commodities of lower civilizations planted on foreign soils. But here we find a cheaper production by a laborer with fewer wants than our own upon which no tariff can be levied and against which no prohibition can be raised. On the contrary, every power of the Government, both State and national, is or may be invoked for its development and defense.

In this emergency what shall be done by Northern labor and by Northern capital? The question has already been answered and is being answered by the owners of a great mass of the surplus which those hitherto engaged in the diversified industries of the North, as we have already seen, are planting in the South, where future profits may replace the inevitable losses upon like investments in the North resulting from the coming competition.

But how about that capital fixed in plants already in operation in the North, and which can not be transferred to the more favorable conditions of the South, and whose owners have no capital to invest elsewhere? More serious still is this problem to Northern labor, which must, as a whole, live or die where it is. Capital can endure delay, may be transferred elsewhere, or suffer absolute destruction even before its owner is reduced to the level of necessity all the while occupied by the toiler for his daily bread. The laborer must have his work every day, for he is hungry three times every day. So are his wife and their little ones.

Mr. Blaine has recently called public attention to this relation between Northern and Southern labor with his usual ability and power, but no solution of the difficult or relief from coming calamities to the Northern laborer has been suggested. None can or ought to be suggested which will interfere with the uplifting of laborers at the South or with the rapid progress of that great section of the country in wealth and power. In April, 1886, I had occasion to discuss this subject, and believe the suggestions then made worthy of public attention, and accordingly will reproduce the substance of what was then said.

The late war was a conflict between cheap labor, which cost the master little more than its board and clothes under the institution of slavery, and the intelligent, free, highly civilized, and, consequently, highly paid labor of the North.

The war freed the slaves so far as the Constitution and statutes were concerned, but left him merely a freed man—not a free man—ignorant, unskilled, and, therefore, condemned to low wages and poverty; and so ever since the irrepressible conflict has continued between intelligence and ignorance, free labor and labor still enslaved by ignorance—cheap labor at the South and labor better paid at the North. Hitherto that competition has not been active.

But now new conditions are arising, and throughout the South Northern and European capital are developing that region of wonderful and universal resources, comprising one-third of the territory of the nation, producing all things which come from the soil, the forest, and the mine, close by abounding water-powers, with cheap transportation already provided, and all these combined with the remaining factor of very cheap labor and long hours.

This state of things is becoming more and more formidable, and Southern products and manufactures, free from all restrictions of the tariff and the like, which protect us from ruinous foreign competition—that is, enjoying the benefits of free trade forever between the States—are already disputing with us our own markets and controlling them in many articles of cotton, wool, and iron, those of the Middle and Western States especially, while the Southern market, to as so valuable, is rapidly disappearing by supplying itself.

What does all this save cheap, because ignorant, labor? Labor with long hours imposed upon children as well as adults; because labor is too ignorant and therefore too weak to defend itself.

Northern manufacturers as well as laborers will go to the wall in the end as surely as though the tariff were wholly removed and European production and Asiatic immigration were perfectly free.

Nothing but dense stupidity can fail to see that the manufacturing capital and cities of New England and the North generally are doomed if they are to compete with the cheap labor of the South, which is already becoming skillful with the hand, although, unfortunately, not fully intelligent in the discharge of the duties and in the exercise of the powers of citizenship. This condition comes only with education in the art of reading and writing and in the other common branches of knowledge, thus giving capacity to receive the benefits of that great instructor and preserver of the life of republics—the press.

It has become a question not of extending our markets, but of preserving those we now have; not of preserving our own in one line of production, but already in many lines, and ultimately in

nearly all. Every Northern industry is threatened by this cheap labor of the South—the boot and the shoe maker, and the iron-worker no less than the manufacturer and the operative in cotton and wool. It is a question of preserving our vested capital and prosperity and of protecting the masses of our people in reasonable hours of continuous employment with fair pay, which enable them to supply the wants of an advanced civilization.

To one who reflects upon the fact that political unity in a genuine republic depends upon the universal diffusion of intelligence among the people, the converse is also apparent that so far as unity of political jurisdiction extends, if it is to be permanent, there must be established throughout that jurisdiction a high and homogeneous standard of intelligent thought and of moral action. Resulting from these conditions will be a uniformity of individual power, which will enable the producer in every path of industry to secure fair pay for the supply of his wants.

With wise reference to the establishment of this general condition of intelligence, and consequently of industrial independence and equality throughout the country, the national education bill has been earnestly advocated by those who have long foreseen what is now so patent that politicians and statesmen and patriots are sounding the alarm and pressing home upon our people the importance of universal intelligence and industrial training as the only remedy.

What does this national education bill propose to do? Not to lessen the development of the South by any means; but, on the contrary, to increase it. It proposes to make Southern labor and the Southern masses more intelligent, and therefore more highly civilized; to create among their rapidly-multiplying millions of both races a vast increase of the wants of life which must be supplied, so

that Southern labor will consume, and therefore enjoy, as well as produce and thus be obliged to receive in order that it may purchase, as high wages as Northern labor, putting an end to the competition between the products of the North and South, and improving both sections by uplifting the masses of the people all over the country.

Consumption can only increase by increasing the capacity to enjoy, that is, by adding to the wants of life by higher civilization and providing higher wages or returns for labor wherewith to purchase the more diversified and costly supply of the necessities and comforts of a higher life. Increased intelligence constitutes that better civilization and gives the power which enables its possessor to command his rightful share in the production of his labor combined with the capital of the employer. This subject of the general diffusion of intelligence throughout the country is thus seen to be as important to the North as to the South. It is the only remedy for our threatened Northern industries except a dissolution of the Government and the establishment of new political relations which will enable the North to apply the principle of protection against Southern cheap production the same as against that of any other foreign power—or a gradual sinking of the pay of Northern producers to the lower level of average Southern compensation for toil.

The schools—common and industrial—with wise and conservative organization of labor are the agencies upon which we must rely. I have abiding faith that these great agencies already in action will carry on their beneficent work until the perfect day. But every philanthropist and patriot should contribute his utmost to stimulate every energy of the individual, the State, and the nation, to lift all portions of our common country to the level of the highest, that nowhere shall any recede or fall.

DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR,
Washington, June 20, 1887.

Hon. H. W. BLAIR,
U. S. Senate:

SIR: In reply to your verbal inquiry I have to say that the statistics of the Tenth Census relative to schools, libraries, and churches have never been published, and * * * that it is probable they will never be issued.

Very respectfully,

D. L. HAWKINS,
Assistant Secretary.

RESOLUTIONS.

[*Women's Christian Temperance Union.*]

Resolved, That we earnestly request the House of Representatives to pass the Blair education bill without delay, in the interest of sobriety and intelligent citizenship.

NATIONAL WOMAN'S CHRISTIAN TEMPERANCE UNION.

MINNEAPOLIS, 1886.

[*Knights of Labor.*]

Resolved, That we believe the cause of education would be promoted by the passage of the Blair educational bill.

Resolved, That the national legislative committee be instructed to use all their efforts to further the passage of said bill.

T. V. POWDERLY, *Chairman.*
JOHN W. HAYES, *Secretary.*

[*From National Republican, Washington, D. C., May 2, 1887.*]

Below we give the resolutions passed by the general assembly of the State of Pennsylvania in favor of the Blair educational bill. Space forbids any extended comment on these resolutions, but they speak for themselves. We can hardly conceive how any one can be so blind as to oppose this beneficent measure.

Intelligence is the surest foundation on which a free government can be built and the surest guarantee of its stability, and the principle of national aid to schools of a high class has been recognized for nearly the whole existence of the nation. Why should it be denied to the common schools?

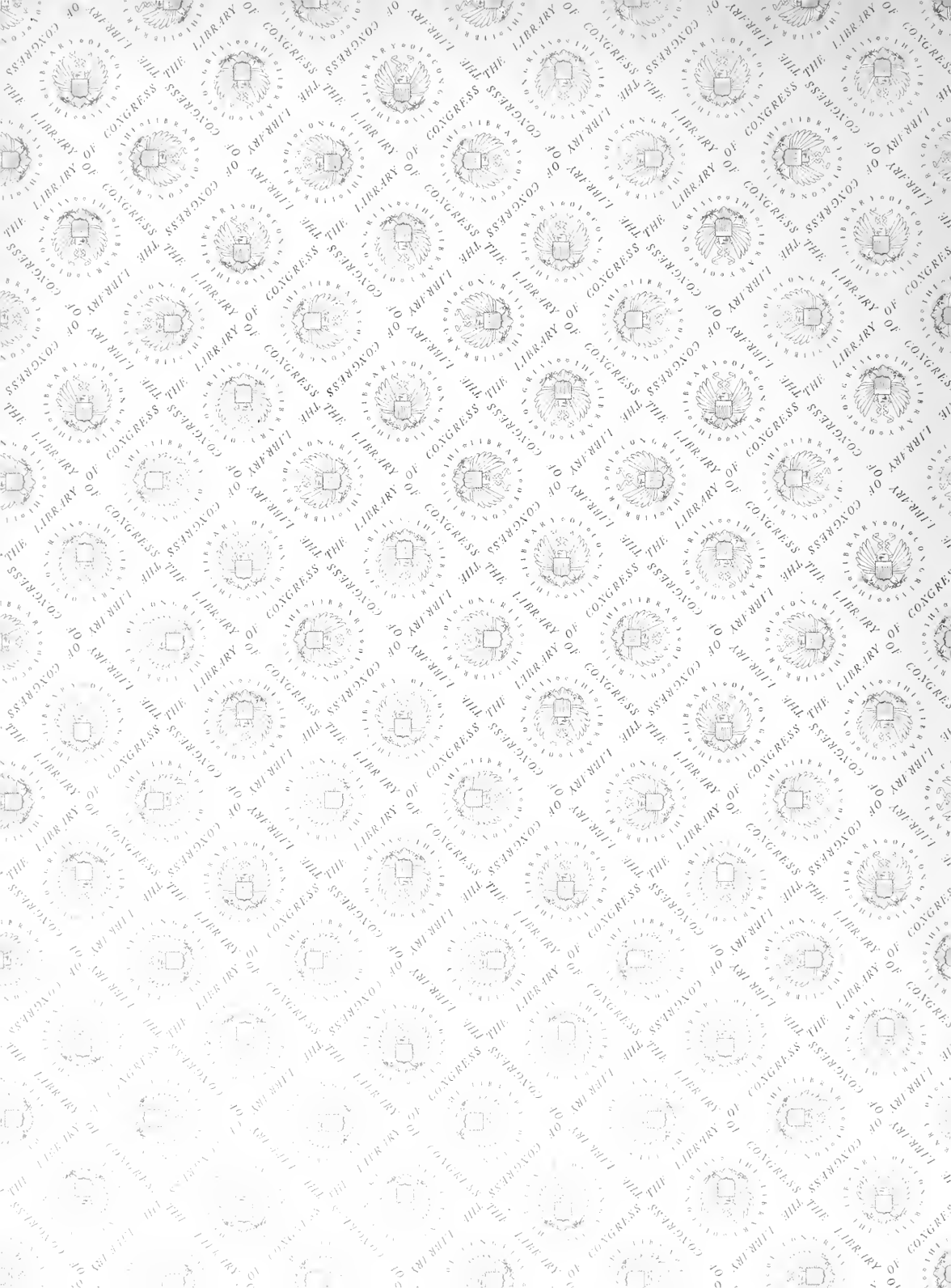
[*Resolutions passed by the legislature of Pennsylvania, April, 1887.*]

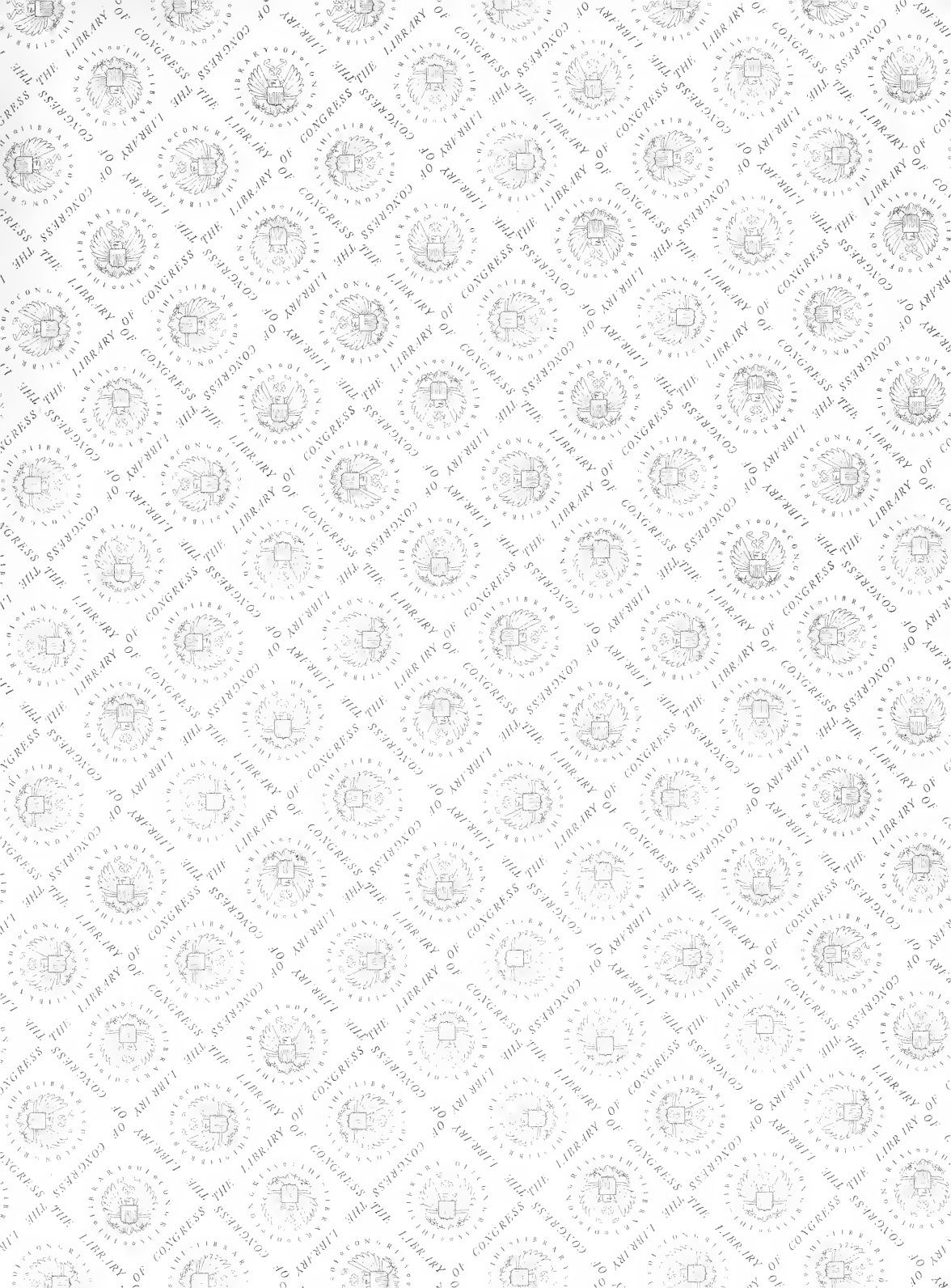
Resolved, That our Senators in Congress be instructed and the Representatives be requested to support at the next session the Blair bill for national aid to common schools, to the end that all sections may secure educational facilities.

Resolved, That the secretary of the Commonwealth is hereby directed to send copies of the above resolutions to the President of the Senate and the Speaker of the House of Representatives at Washington when Congress convenes in December next.

[*Republican National Platform, 1884.*]

SECTION 11. We favor the establishment of a National Bureau of Labor; the enforcement of the eight-hour law; a wise and judicious system of general education by adequate appropriation from the national revenues wherever the same is needed.





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